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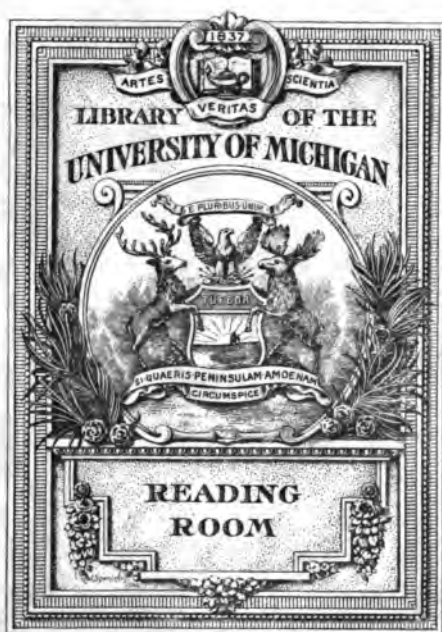
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The Case for Woman Suffrage

A Bibliography

BY

Margaret Ladd Franklin, A.B.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

M. CAREY THOMAS

Published by the National College Equal Suffrage League
Sold by the National American Woman Suffrage
Association, 505 Fifth Avenue New York City

1913

Single Copies in Paper, 65 cents
Postage prepaid, 75 cents

Bound in Cloth, 90 cents
Postage prepaid, \$1

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Returned 10-15-39 E.

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INTRODUCTION.

This bibliography of books, pamphlets, and magazine articles dealing with woman suffrage has been prepared by a young college woman, Margaret Ladd Franklin, who graduated from Bryn Mawr College in 1908. During her college course she and many of her classmates became deeply interested in the question of woman suffrage. In talking to them and other young college women the President of the National College Equal Suffrage League had occasion to observe that many of the old fashioned arguments most successful in the past seemed to have lost their compelling power, while certain theoretical arguments making a strong intellectual appeal and certain other practical arguments dealing with modern social conditions seemed to carry instant conviction.

In the light of such discussions it seemed desirable that so far as possible all the existing arguments for woman suffrage should be carefully reread and classified from the point of view of college women of to-day, and Miss Franklin was accordingly asked to prepare this bibliography for the College Equal Suffrage League.

She has spent many weeks in the Congressional Library in Washington and has herself read all the books and pamphlets which she mentions. The stars of praise, the trenchant criticisms, and the illuminating comments are wholly her own. Were it otherwise the bibliography would lose its value and its special appeal to college women. Only in two or three instances when saints of our suffrage calendar had unwisely adventured themselves into the world of literature and had received at her hands too black a mark was it suggested that she should soften a somewhat drastic comment.

Miss Franklin has attempted to characterize from a controversial point of view the books on woman suffrage in the

Congressional Library and has supplemented and filled in whatever gaps existed from the New York and Boston public libraries and from the recent valuable publications and reprints of the literature department of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. As there is in existence no complete collection or catalogue of books and articles on woman suffrage there will probably be many omissions. Readers of the bibliography are earnestly requested to send Miss Franklin the names of any books or pamphlets that should be included in future editions.

It is hoped that this little bibliography will be of service not only to college women for whom it is primarily intended, but also to all men and women who are working for woman suffrage.

M. CAREY THOMAS

*President of the National College Equal Suffrage League
and Chairman of the Publication Committee.*

BOOKS.

Ca. 380 B. C.

** PLATO. *The Republic*; Book V., §§ 451-456.

Plato maintains that the same natural gifts are found in both sexes, though possessed in a higher degree by men than by women. He admits that "the natures of men and women differ very much indeed," but he regards the differences as entirely irrelevant to the question of what pursuits are proper for them—just as irrelevant as the distinction between bald men and hairy men. "Are dogs divided into hes and shes, or do they both share equally in hunting and in keeping watch and in the other duties of dogs? or do we entrust to the males the entire and exclusive charge of the flocks, while we leave the females at home, under the idea that the bearing and suckling their puppies is labor enough for them?" "And if, I said, the male and female sex appear to differ in their fitness for any art or pursuit, we should say that such pursuit or art ought to be assigned to one or the other of them; but if the difference consists only in women bearing and men begetting children, this does not amount to a proof that a woman differs from a man in respect of the sort of education she should receive; and we shall therefore continue to maintain that our guardians and their wives ought to have the same pursuits."

1532

AGRIPPA VON NETTESHEIM, HEINRICH CORNELIUS. *De Nobilitate et Praecellentia Foeminei Sexus*, ejusdemque supra Virilem eminentia Libellus, lectu etiam jucundissimus. Hagae-Comitum: ex Typographia Adriani Vlacq. 1662. 47 pp. (Columbia Library.) First published 1532.

An amusing product of scholasticism. The first argument is that since *Adam* means *earth*, and *Eve* means *life*, woman must be as superior to man as life itself is superior to earth—and there follows a disquisition on the necessary correspondence between things and their names. After drawing invidious distinctions between the manner of Adam's creation and the manner of Eve's, and showing that, since Eve was created last (*pour la bonne bouche*, as the French translation puts it), God must have regarded her as his masterpiece, Agrippa enforces his conclusion by pointing out that a woman can swim longer than a man—plainly because it is her nature to be nearer to heaven. One of the clinching arguments is that God often loves a bad deed of a woman better than a good deed of a man—witness his praise of Rachel, Rebecca, Judith, and Jael, for treachery, and his punishment of Esau and many other men for seemingly commendable deeds (*"Atque in ipsis sacris literis nonne sæpe benedicitur & extollitur iniquitas mulieris plus quam vir benefaciens?"*)

1621

MARINELLA, LUCRETIA. *La Nobiltà, et l'Eccellenza delle Donne, co' Diffetti, e Mancamenti de gli Huomini.* In due Parte Diviso. Venetia: Presso Gio. Battista Combi. 1621. 430 pp. (Boston Public Library.)

This is a collection of "infinita essempli"—almost all drawn from the classics—to prove that "li difetti de gli Huomini trapassano di gran lunga quelli delle Donne." In fact, the ladies would seem to have no defects at all, and the men no virtues. The catalogue of masculine vices (v. chapter headings) is appalling: "De gli huomini avari, & desiderosi di denari; De gl'invidiosi; De suberbi & arroganti; De gli huomini tirani, & usupatori de gli Stati; De gli huomini fraudolenti, traditori, perfidi, & spergiuri," etc. etc.

1641

- * *A True Copie of the Petition of the Gentlewomen, and Tradesmens-wives*, in and about the City of London. Delivered, To the Honourable, the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, of the house of Commons in Parliament, the 4th of February, 1641. Together with their severall Reasons why their sex Ought thus to Petition, as well as the Men; and the manner how both their Petition and Reasons was delivered. Likewise the Answer which the Honourable Assembly sent to them by Mr. Pym, as they stood at the House doore. (7 pp.) London: printed by R. O. & G. D. for John Bull, 1641. (Library of Congress.)

After the petition itself, "the Reasons follow"; they are very modest and touching. "First, because Christ hath purchased us at as deare a rate as he hath done Men," etc. . . . "Thirdly, because Women are sharers in the common Calamaties that accompany both Church and Commonwealth, when oppression is exercised over the Church or Kingdome wherein they live; and an unlimited power have been given to Prelats to exercise authority over the Consciences of Women, as well as Men; witnesse Newgate, Smithfield, and other places of persecution, wherein Women as well as Men have felt the smart of their fury."

1683

- NORRIS, JAMES. *Haec et Hic*; or, The Feminine Gender more Worthy than the Masculine. Being a Vindication of that Ingenious and Innocent Sex from the Biting Sarcasms, Bitter Satyrs, and Opprobrious Calumnies wherewith they are daily, tho undeservedly, Aspers'd by the Virulent Tongues and Pens of Malevolent Men. London: Printed by Jo. Harefinch, for James Norris, at the Kings Arms without Temple-Bar. 1683. 165 pp. (Boston Public Library.)

An offering to the female sex, composed of "gleanings of slight reading" among "the best authors," "with some small additions." The arguments are very airy and sophistical, much like those of Cornelius Agrippa (who is often quoted). This is a typical bit: "Some Buffoons have been so bold as to say, that Woman is a crooked Rib, and consequently of a crooked Temper; but that is a great mistake; for a Rib is bending, and presupposeth her pliant, not her crooked Disposition."

1691

- * [WALSH, W.] *A Dialogue concerning Women, Being a Defence of the Sex. Written to Eugenia.* London: R. Bentley in Russel-Street in Covent Garden, and J. Tonson at the Judge's Head in Chancery-Lane. 1691. 134 pp. (Boston Public Library.)

A charming, witty dialogue between Misogynes and Philogynes, in which the victor is always Philogynes. The book is largely an ingenious network of classical quotations and allusions, and has little serious intent. But compared with the absurdities of Cornelius Agrippa, it is a valid defence. The point at issue is chiefly a comparison of the morals of the two sexes. The greatest acumen is shown, however, in Philogynes' defence of the feminine intellect.

"We might tell you further, Sir, that this Modesty too often hinders 'em from making their Vertues known; That they are not of those eternal Scriblers who are continually plaguing the World with their Works; and that it is not the Vanity of getting a Name, which several of the greatest men of the world have own'd to be the Cause of their writing, that is the Cause of the Womens. . . . And had not Anna Maria Schurman's Works been publish'd by a Friend, without her consent, we had lost the benefit of 'em."

"We may tell you too, that granting the equal Capacities of both Sexes, 'tis a greater wonder to find one Learned Woman, than a hundred Learned Men, considering the difference of their Educations. . . . Will you by all your Laws and Customs endeavour to keep 'em ignorant, and then blame 'em for being so? . . . Consider what Time and Charge is spent to make Men fit for somewhat; Eight or Nine Years at School; Six or Seven Years at the University; Four or Five Years in Travel; and after this, are they not almost all Fops, Clowns, Dunces, or Pedants? I know not what you think of the Women; but if they are Fools, they are Fools I am sure with less pains, and less expence than we are."

1697

** [ASTELL, MARY.] *An Essay in Defence of the Female Sex.*

In which are inserted the characters of a pedant, a squire, a beau, a virtuoso, a poetaster, a city-critick, &c., in a letter to a Lady. Written by a Lady. The 3d edition, with additions. London: A. Roper and R. Clavel. 1697. 136 pp. (Columbia Library.)

A delightful book. It is rather a counter-attack on the male sex, however, than a defence of the female sex. The satires on the pedant and the squire are especially amusing. The first twenty pages contain many keen, though good-humored, observations upon the sphere of women, and the effect of their education upon their minds. "There are others that . . . affirm that the Propagation and Continuance of Mankind was the only reason for which we were made; as if the Wisdom that first made Man, could not without Trouble have continued that Species by the same, or any other Method, had not this been most conducive to his Happiness." "Our sex can hardly boast of so great Privileges and so easy a Servitude anywhere as

in England, . . . tho' Fetters of Gold are still Fetters, and the softest Lining can never make 'em so easy as Liberty."

1726

**** FEYJOÓ Y MONTENEGRO, BENITO GERÓNIMO. *A Defence or Vindication of the Women*. [Three Essays or Discourses on the Following Subjects, A Defence or Vindication of the Women, Church Music, A Comparison between Antient and Modern Music, translated from the Spanish of Feyjoó; by a Gentleman. London: T. Becket, the Corner of the Adelphi, in the Strand. 1778. The *Vindication* was first published in Vol. I. of Feyjoó's *Teatro Crítico Universal*, 1726. (Boston Public Library.)]

Until the publication of Feyjoó's *Teatro Crítico*, Spain had preserved the scientific tenets of the middle ages, absolutely unconscious of the intellectual revolutions that were taking place in France, England, and Italy. Feyjoó brought to his country the news of the foundations of modern science and modern scientific method. The *Vindication* makes one think that if he had not devoted himself to this task he might have done important original work.

His method is a delightful one. He first shows that he is well able to defeat his scholastic opponents with their own weapons, and then shows how meaningless such warfare is. The book divides itself into six chief parts. In §§ 1-2, the most superficial claims of masculine superiority are cleared away. In §§ 3-8, the respective moral and physical advantages of men and women are balanced against each other and finally pronounced of equal weight. Then comes the main body of the book—the proof of intellectual equality. In §§ 9-11, the fallacies of the arguments from experience are admirably exposed. This is

perhaps the ablest portion; in several points Feyjoó anticipates Mill. In §§ 12-15, the "physical" arguments for mental inequality are answered—arguments based on "entative inequality of souls," "distinct organisation," and "different temperament of the bodies." This is an extremely interesting portion, though its value as an argument has of course disappeared with the theories it attacks. After disposing of these theories, Feyjoó says it is time "to depart from the labyrinths of physics, and to enter on the open and pleasing plains of history, and to persuade by example that the understandings of the women are not inferior to those of the men, even for the attainment of the most difficult sciences." The examples (§§ 16-22) are drawn from Spain, France, Italy, Germany, and Asia; it is a valuable list. The book ends with an excellent and characteristically simple reply to the objection that "persuading mankind of the intellectual equality of both sexes . . . tends to foment in the women presumption and pride":

"I might reply to this scruple by only saying that, in whatever matter that may present itself to our reflection, knowing the truth, and setting aside error, is a utility which is apparent, and of itself sufficient to justify our enquiry. . . . Truths have their intrinsic value, and the stock, or riches of the understanding, does not consist of any other money. . . . Nor can the truth we have proved, of itself, induce in the women vanity or presumption. St. Thomas, speaking of vain glory, says, this sin is not incurred by a man's knowing, or being convinced, of the perfection he possesses; . . . and in another place, speaking of presumption, he says, this vice is always founded in some error or mistake of the understanding. The women, then, by knowing what they are, if they don't estimate their qualifications above their real value, can never become vain-glorious, or presumptuous; but by attending

to the thing, it will be found, the deception this chapter is calculated to remove, will rather have a different effect; and instead of adding presumption to the women, will take it away from the men."

1751

- *** "SOPHIA." *Beauty's Triumph*: or, the Superiority of the Fair Sex invincibly proved. Wherein the Arguments for the natural Right of Man to a Sovereign Authority over the Woman are fairly urged, and undeniably refuted; and the undoubted Title of the Ladies, even to a superiority over the Men, both in Head and Heart, is clearly evinced; Shewing their Minds to be as much more beautiful than the Mens as their Bodies; and that, if they had the same Advantages of Education, they would excel their Tyrants as much in Sense as they do in Virtue. In Three Parts. The Whole interspers'd with a delightful Variety of Characters, which some of the most celebrated *Heroes* and *Heroines* of the present Time have had the Goodness to sit for. London: printed and sold by J. Robinson at the Golden Lion in Ludgate Street. 306 pp. (Library of Congress.)

These essays, the substance of which may be gathered from the title page, are delightfully written and very interesting.

1787

- *** CONDORCET, MARIE JEAN ANTOINE NICOLAS CARITAT, Marquis de. *Lettres d'un Bourgeois de New-Haven à un Citoyen de Virginie*. [Oeuvres Complètes de Condorcet; Paris: Henrichs. 1804. (Astor Library.) Vol. XII. Lettre II. (pp. 19-27).]

An argument of great penetration and force. The prophetic truth of this passage is especially interesting:

"Au reste, il faut observer que ce changement proposé ici en suppose un premier dans les lois civiles, qui en produirait nécessairement un dans les mœurs, un autre non moins important dans l'éducation des femmes, en sorte que les objections qui paraîtraient plausibles aujourd'hui auraient cessé de l'être avant que le nouvel ordre fût établi." At the close of his remarks he says: "Peut-être trouverez-vous cette discussion bien longue, mais songez qu'il s'agit des droits de la moitié du genre humain, droits oubliés par tous les législateurs; qu'il n'est pas inutile même pour la liberté des hommes d'indiquer le moyen de détruire la seule objection qu'on puisse faire aux républiques, et de marquer entr'elles et les états non libres une différence réelle."

1790

- *** CONDORCET, MARIE JEAN ANTOINE NICOLAS CARITAT, Marquis de. *Sur l'Admission des femmes au droit de cité.* [Oeuvres de Condorcet. Paris: Firmin Didot frères. 1849. (Library of Congress.) Vol. X. (pp. 121-130).]

Very interesting; calm and dispassionate.

1792

- ** WOLLSTONECRAFT, MARY. *A Vindication of the Rights of Women.* New edition, with introduction by Mrs. Henry Fawcett. London: T. F. Unwin. 1891. 287 pp. (Library of Congress.) First published 1792.

When one considers the eighteenth century attitude towards "the sex," one must recognise the *Vindication* as one of the very boldest controversial ventures ever made by man or woman. Even taken in themselves, the arguments are often remarkable for forceful expression; viewed against the background of Dr. Gregory's *Legacy to his Daughters*, they are startling and revolutionary.

"If children are to be educated to understand the true principle of patriotism, their mother must be a patriot; and the love of mankind, from which an orderly train of virtues spring, can only be produced by considering the moral and civil interest of mankind; but the education and situation of woman, at present, shuts her out from such investigations." "Considering the length of time that women have been dependent, is it surprising that some of them hug their chains, and fawn like the spaniel? 'These dogs,' observes a naturalist, 'at first kept their ears erect; but custom has superseded nature, and a token of fear has become a beauty!'" "It is not empire, but equality and friendship, which women want." "I do not want them to have power over men, but over themselves." "Speaking of women at large, their first duty is to themselves as rational creatures."

1795

NEAL, J. A. *An Essay on the Education and Genius of the Female Sex.* To which is added an Account of the Commencement of the Young Ladies' Academy of Philadelphia, held the 18th of December, 1794, under the direction of Mr. John Poor, A. M., Principal. Philadelphia: printed by Jacob Johnson & Co. 1795. 37 pp. (Boston Public Library.)

The essay contains interesting intimations of modern ideas about women. "We must (if open to conviction) be convinced that females are fully capable of sounding the most profound depths, and of attaining to the most sublime excellence in every part of science. . . . Indeed, the false lustre of a romantic education has been productive of many evils: if a permanent and proper foundation is not laid in early life, we can have but little expectations of salutary effects."

1798

- ** *Appeal to the Men of Great Britain in behalf of Women.*
London: printed for J. Johnson, St. Paul's Church-
yard; and J. Bell, Oxford-Street. 1798. 300 pp.
(Library of Congress.)

This is a delightful book. The arguments, as the author says in the preface, are much like those of Mary Wollstonecraft, but the style is at once more elegant and more popular. The first chapter, on "Arguments adduced from Scripture against the Subjection of Women," is the most interesting. Among the best is the third chapter—"On the Erroneous Ideas which men have formed, of the characters and abilities of women."

1803

- ** SÉGUR, JOSEPH ALEXANDRE. *Women: their Condition and Influence in Society.* Translated from the French. London: printed by T. Gillet, Salisbury Square, for T. N. Longman & O. Rees, Paternoster Row. 1803. 3 vols. (Library of Congress.)

The whole book is very amusing—especially the conclusion (Vol. III., pp. 327-348), with its progressive views on women's education. "It is as disgusting to see an ignorant young woman, as a female philosopher, reasoning on abstract subjects, which are not in the province of her sex." "With respect to myself, without presuming to decide the question, I am of opinion, that women are entitled to equal rights with ourselves." "It is time that mere corporeal strength should have less influence in the balance of advantages. Why do we hear perpetually of the opinion of *men respecting women*, and never of the opinion of *women respecting men*? Whence is derived our privilege of judging them, and our exemption from being judged by them?"

1807

RICHTER, JEAN PAUL FRIEDRICH. [*Levana; or The Doctrine of Education.* London: George Bell & Sons. 1897. (Library of Congress.) First published 1807.] § 87 (p. 238).

"But before and after being a mother, a girl is a human being; and neither motherly nor wifely destination can overbalance or replace the human, but must become its means, not end. As above the poet, the painter, or the hero, so above the mother, does the human being rise preeminent."

1832

TRANSON, ABEL. *Affranchissement des femmes.* Prédication du 1^{er} janvier 1832. Paris: au bureau du globe, rue Monsigny. 1832. 10 pp. (New York Public Library.)

There is a good deal of eloquent rhetoric in this sermon, but it is all bound up with a bitter attack on religion.

1836

** LINCOLN, ABRAHAM. [*Speeches*, compiled by L. E. Chittenden. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. 1895. (Library of Congress.) p. 24.] Mr. Lincoln's Earliest Announcement of his Political Opinions. June, 1836.

From a letter in the Sangamon Journal: "I go for all sharing the privileges of the government who assist in bearing its burdens; consequently I go for admitting all whites to the right of suffrage who pay taxes or bear arms (by no means excluding females)."

1838

*** ADAMS, JOHN QUINCY. [*Memoir of the Life of John Quincy Adams.* By Josiah Quincy. Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co. 1858. (Library of Congress.)] pp. 276-283.

The most interesting parts of John Quincy Adams' speech on the right of petition are here given at length. The question under discussion in the first place was whether Texas should be admitted to the union. Many petitions had been submitted to Congress, urging that because it was a slave state it be not admitted. Some of the petitions were from women, and these the committee had refused even to read. Adams denounces their action with fine indignation. "Are women to have no opinions or actions on subjects relating to the general welfare? Where did the gentleman get this principle? Did he find it in sacred history—in the language of Miriam the prophetess, in one of the noblest and most sublime songs of triumph that ever met the human eye or ear? Did the gentleman never hear of Deborah, to whom the children of Israel came up for judgment?" "I say that the correct principle is that women are not only justified, but exhibit the most exalted virtue, when they do depart from the domestic circle, and enter on the concerns of their country, of humanity, and of their God."

- ** GRIMKÉ, SARAH MOORE. *Letters on the Equality of the Sexes*, and the Condition of Woman. Addressed to Mary S. Parker, President of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society. Boston: Isaac Knapp. 1838. 128 pp. (Boston Public Library.)

An extremely interesting book. One is impressed most of all with the character of the author—the combination of great intellectual and moral courage with the utmost personal modesty. She is resolute and uncompromising, but with unvarying gentleness and sobriety. The most interesting letter is the third—a reply to the *Pastoral Letter of the General Association of Congregational Ministers of Massachusetts* (in which the ministers protested against women's lifting up their voices in public in the anti-slavery

cause). The fourth letter and the fifteenth are also well worth reading.

By making use, she says, of the privileges that are within their reach, women "will be enabled to see the simple truth, that God has made no distinction between men and women as moral beings; that the distinction now so much insisted upon between male and female virtues is as absurd as it is unscriptural, and has been the fruitful source of much mischief—granting to man a license for the exhibition of brute force and conflict on the battle-field; for sternness, selfishness, and the exercise of irresponsible power in the circle of home—and to woman a permit to rest on an arm of flesh, and to regard modesty and delicacy, and all the kindred virtues, as peculiarly appropriate to her. Now to me it is perfectly clear, that whatsoever is morally right for a man to do, it is morally right for a woman to do; and that confusion must exist in the moral world, until woman takes her stand on the same platform with man, and feels that she is clothed by her Maker with the same rights, and, of course, that upon her devolve the same duties." (p. 122.) "I have blushed for my sex when I have heard of their entreating ministers to attend their associations, and open them with prayer. The idea is inconceivable to me, that Christian women can be engaged in doing God's work, and yet cannot ask his blessing on their efforts, except through the lips of a man. . . . And to say the truth, there is something really ludicrous in seeing a minister enter the meeting, open it with prayer, and then take his departure." (p. 125.)

1840

MORGAN, LADY SYDNEY OWENSON. *Woman and her Master*. London: Henry Colburn. 2 vols. (Library of Congress.)

An uninteresting account of woman's position among the Hebrews and among the Greeks and Romans. Written evidently for the purpose of rousing indignation about woman's wrongs, past and present.

1843

- * REID, Mrs. HUGO. *A Plea for Woman: Being a Vindication of the Importance and Extent of her Natural Sphere of Action; with remarks on recent works on the subject.* Edinburgh: William Tait; London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co.; Dublin: John Cumming. 1843. 227 pp. (Boston Public Library.)

This is an excellent book, though the plea is a very modest one. The writer concedes the mental inferiority of women (though she says "there is great danger of rating women too low"). She concedes also that "subordination is due from woman to man," making the reservation that woman is bound to obey "only when obedience does not contradict her own convictions of duty." The vindication is based on the very fact that women, being weaker, need equal civil rights, and the suffrage, as a "guarantee that man's supremacy will not be abused." One of the best chapters is the second, "On the Supposed Power of Female Influence." It is strange that an objection so simply answered can have survived so long. "Influence is not exclusively female; it cannot be exercised by one sex alone upon the other." It is not "an equivalent for all the rights which man possesses, for the possession of those rights, far from annihilating man's influence, gives it tenfold weight. . . . The partition of power and influence between man and woman certainly does not at present exist,—for man now exercises at least as much influence as woman, and has all his power and privileges to add authority to that influence. The common

sense and justice of the matter seems to us to be—let every one have equality of right or power, and let our own character give us all the influence it can.”

1845

MAY, SAMUEL J. *The Rights and Condition of Women;*
A Sermon preached in Syracuse, November, 1845.
(Woman's Rights Tracts, No. 1.) Syracuse: Lath-
rop's Press. 16 pp. (Library of Congress.)

Addressed to those whose misgivings as to woman suf-
frage are based on the Bible, or on sermons.

1849

MOTT, LUCRETIA. *Discourse on Woman.* Delivered at
the Assembly Buildings, December 17, 1849. Phila-
delphia: T. B. Peterson, No. 98 Chestnut Street, one
door above third. 1850. 20 pp. (Library of
Congress.)

Lucretia Mott was one of the most inspiring figures and
one of the most effective champions in the early struggle
for woman's rights. All her speeches, however, were
extemporaneous, and this is one of the few that have
been preserved.

1850

Proceedings of the Ohio Women's Convention, held at Salem,
April 19 and 20, 1850; with an address by J. Elizabeth
Jones. Cleveland: Smead & Cowles' Press. 1850.
48 pp. (Susan B. Anthony Collection, Library of
Congress.)

Some of the letters to the convention—those from
Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lydia Jane Pierson, Lucretia
Mott, and Lucy Stone—are interesting from the historical
standpoint, this being the first woman's rights convention.

Proceedings of the Woman's Rights Convention, held at Worcester, October 23 and 24, 1850. Boston: Prentiss & Sawyer. 1851. 84 pp. (Susan B. Anthony Collection, Library of Congress.)

The first address, by Paulina W. Davis, is much better than most of the speeches by early women agitators; the language is more restrained, and the speech has better structure. There is also an interesting and forcible letter from Harriet Martineau (pp. 13-16).

1851

NICHOLS, Mrs. C. I. H. *The Responsibilities of Woman*. Rochester: Curtis, Butts & Co. 1854. 18 pp. (Susan B. Anthony Collection, Library of Congress.) Written in 1851.

***** PHILLIPS, WENDELL. *Woman's Rights*.* [Speeches, Lectures, and Letters. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1894. (Library of Congress.) Vol. I., pp. 11-34.]

This speech stirs one like martial music. And with all its oratory and picturesque language, the arguments are invariably sound and cogent. "It is not the education man gets from books, . . . but the lessons he learns from life and society, that profit him most highly." '*Le monde est le livre des femmes*.' Of this book you deprive her. You give her nothing but man's little printed primers; you make for her a world of dolls, and then complain that she is frivolous." "Responsibility is one instrument—a great instrument—of education, both moral and intellectual. It sharpens the faculties. It unfolds the moral nature. It makes the careless prudent, and turns recklessness into sobriety. . . . Woman can never study those

* Wendell Phillips' three speeches on the rights of woman are reprinted in a booklet published by the National American Woman Suffrage Association (\$0.15).

great questions that interest and stir most deeply the public mind, until she studies them under the mingled stimulus and check of this responsibility. And until her intellect has been tested by such questions, studied under such influences, we shall never be able to decide what it is. . . . The great school of this people is the jury-box and the ballot-box."

SMITH, Mrs. E. OAKES. *Woman and her Needs*. New York: Fowler & Wells. 120 pp. (Boston Public Library.)

Of no present interest.

Proceedings of the Second National Woman's Rights Convention, held at Worcester, October 15 and 16, 1851. New York: Fowler & Wells. 1852. 112 pp. (S. B. Anthony Collection, Library of Congress.)

This was the occasion of Wendell Phillips' great speech on *Woman's Rights*, q. v. (p. 19).

1852

Proceedings of the Woman's Rights Convention, held at Syracuse, September 8, 9, and 10, 1852. Syracuse: J. E. Masters, 1852. 98 pp. (Susan B. Anthony Collection, Library of Congress.)

1853

- * FOX, W. J., M. P. *Woman Suffrage*; Extract from a speech delivered at Oldham, February 4, 1853, on occasion of the presentation to him by the ladies of Oldham of a Signet Ring bearing the inscription "Education the Birthright of All." London: Spottiswoode & Co., 1868. 8 pp. (New York Public Library.)

"I know the time may not be come yet for mootng a question of this sort; but I know that the time must come,

and that woman will be something more than a mere adjective to man in political matters. She will become a substantive also."

***** HIGGINSON, THOMAS WENTWORTH. *Woman and her Wishes*. New York: Fowler & Wells. 1853. 23 pp. (Library of Congress.)

"It is no wonder that, under these circumstances, we Americans are remarkably polite to women. With an awkward impulse to compensation, we attempt to atone for our fraud by courtesies. Withholding rights, we substitute favors. We rob woman of her claim to the soil she stands upon, and then beg leave to offer her a chair. 'Chivalry,' said the brilliant German Rahel, 'was a poetical lie, necessary to restore the equality of the sexes.' Is our American chivalry of the same stamp?"

"The question lies here. Woman must have influence somehow; shall she have it simply, directly, openly, responsibly?—or, on the other hand, by coaxings, caresses, dimples, dinners, fawnings, frettings, and lectures after the manner of Mrs. Caudle? It is possibly true. . . . that a woman may obtain anything she wishes from her husband, by always keeping something nice to pop into his mouth; but it is quite questionable whether such a relation can rank any higher in the scale of creation than the loves of Nutcracker and Sugar Dollie in the German tale. Besides, there is this fatal difficulty, that woman, with all her powers of domestic coaxing and coercion, has never yet coaxed or coerced her partner into doing her simple justice."

"Is it not as much to be a useful woman, as to rear a useful man? Why postpone the honor from generation to generation? or when will it be overtaken? Or, rather, what incompatibility between parental and social duties? . . . John Adams contrived to train John Quincy Adams, and to be a parent and guardian of American liberty likewise.

Why should woman content herself with one half the mission?"

- ** PARKER, THEODORE. *The Public Function of Women.* Woman's Rights Tracts. Rochester: Curtis, Butts & Co. 1854. Delivered 1853. 24 pp. (Susan B. Anthony Collection, Library of Congress.)
- ** *The Whole World's Temperance Convention*, held at Metropolitan Hall in the City of New York, on Thursday and Friday, September 1 and 2, 1853. (Compiled from the reports in *Tribune*, *Times* and *Herald*; principally from the *Tribune*.) New York: Fowler & Wells. 1853. 111 pp. (Susan B. Anthony Collection, Library of Congress.)

Pages 1-8: Report of the preliminary meeting of delegates at Brick Church Chapel on Thursday morning, May 12. This meeting is entirely taken up with a discussion—or, rather, a stormy wrangling—as to whether the women delegates (who had been regularly appointed) shall be received or rejected. A motion to receive them was carried at first without discussion; the excitement begins when Mr. Higginson proposes that the women delegates be represented on the business committee, and moves that Miss Anthony be made a member of that committee. At this the opposition to admitting the women delegates at all breaks forth, started by Dr. Hewett, who says that he “is not prepared to acquiesce in any such invasion as would tend to interfere with the settled laws of society—reformation is one thing, and revolution is another.” After a very exciting and disorderly meeting, in the course of which Mr. Higginson withdraws his own name from the committee, the friends of the rejected delegates secede from the convention.

Pages 65-71: Miss Lucy Stone's speech at the Broadway Tabernacle, on Saturday evening, May 13. She gives a lively account of the expulsion of the female delegates from

Brick Church Chapel, and makes an effective protest against the injustice.

Proceedings of the Woman's Rights Convention, held at the Broadway Tabernacle, in the City of New York, on Tuesday and Wednesday, September 6 and 7, 1853. New York: Fowler & Wells. 1853. 96 pp. (Susan B. Anthony Collection, Library of Congress.)

Contains a fine speech by William Lloyd Garrison (quoted in the *Life of William Lloyd Garrison*, 1889, q. v.); also a very interesting speech by Sojourner Truth, a negro woman.

Proceedings of the Fourth National Woman's Rights Convention, held at Cleveland, Ohio, on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, October 5, 6 and 7, 1853. Cleveland: published for the committee, Plain Dealer Office. 1854. 188 pp. (Susan B. Anthony Collection, Library of Congress.)

1854

STANTON, ELIZABETH CADY. *Address to the Legislature of New York*, adopted by the State Woman's Rights Convention, held at Albany, Tuesday and Wednesday, February 14 and 15, 1854. Albany: Weed, Parsons & Co. 1854. 19 pp. (New York Public Library.)

1855

[POCHIN, Mrs. H. D.] *The Right of Women to Exercise the Elective Franchise*. By "Justitia." London: John Chapman; Manchester: Johnson & Rawson. 33 pp. (Boston Public Library.)

Report on the Laws of New England (in relation to Women), presented to the New England Meeting convened at

the Meianaon, September 19 and 20, 1855. 23 pp.
(Astor Library.)

1856

SAYERS, JOSEPH. *Women's Rights; or, A Treatise on the Inalienable Rights of Women, carefully Investigated, and Inscribed to the Female Community of the U. S. of America.* Cincinnati: published for the author, by Applegate & Co. 72 pp. (Library of Congress.)

An ardent plea for equal rights to men and women in all things, but especially in education. "It is not imperative on me, nor is it essentially requisite for me to circumscribe or point out a lady's education." The last sentence is characteristic: "I shall consider it my imperative duty, and one of my happiest desires, as long as vital air shall animate my physical system, and genius shall supply my mental organisation, to write and advocate the inalienable *Rights of Women.*"

** *Proceedings of the Seventh National Woman's Rights Convention*, held in New York City, at the Broadway Tabernacle, on Tuesday and Wednesday, November 25 and 26, 1856. New York: Edward O. Jenkins. 1856. 91 pp. (Susan B. Anthony Collection, Library of Congress.)

*** Pp. 17-26: Speech by Wendell Phillips. Much of the first part is not sound; he contends for example that "woman, broadly considered, makes half the money that is made." But from page 23 to the end (beginning with the paragraph—"Now, wherever I find silent power I want recognition of responsibility," etc.) the speech is very fine indeed.

* Pp. 36-41: An interesting contention between T. W. Higginson and a man in the audience as to whether woman's rights are founded in revelation or in nature.

- ** Pp. 49-54: Another fine speech by Wendell Phillips.
- * Pp. 55-56: A paragraph in a letter from Horace Greeley advocating equal pay for equal work.
- ** Pp. 59-66: Speech by Thomas Wentworth Higginson.

1857

BODICHON, Mrs. BARBARA LEIGH SMITH. *Women and Work*. London: Bosworth & Harrison. 35 pp. (Library of Congress.)

A plea for the training of women for work; in two parts—*Women Want Professions* and *Professions Want Women*. The arguments are good, but the style is very dull.

Report of the Select Committee of the Ohio Senate, on giving the rights of suffrage to females. (New York Public Library.)

A favorable report; without special significance.

1858

- * MAZZINI, GIUSEPPE. *Duties towards the Family in The Duties of Man*. [Life and Writings of Joseph Mazzini. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1867. (Library of Congress.) Vol. IV., Chap. VI (pp. 281-290).] First published 1858.

"Cancel from your minds every idea of superiority over Woman. You have none whatsoever. In the sight of God the Father there is neither *man* nor *woman*. There is only the human being, that being in whom—whether the form be male or female—those characteristics which distinguish humanity from the brute creation are united—namely, the social tendency and the capacity for education and progress. . . . Consider Woman, therefore, as the partner and companion, not merely of your sorrows, but of your thoughts, your aspirations, your studies, and your endeavors after social amelioration. Consider her your

equal in your civil and political life. Be ye human wings that lift the soul toward the Ideal we are destined to attain."

The Woman's Rights Almanac for 1858. Containing facts, statistics, arguments, records of progress, and proofs of the need of it. Worcester, Mass.: Z. Baker & Co.; Boston: R. F. Walcutt. 35 pp. (New York Public Library.)

Contains, among other bits of information, tables showing the comparative wages of men and women in cotton factories, woolen factories, and schools, a separate table being given for each state.

1859

** MILL, JOHN STUART. [Dissertations and Discussions. Boston: William V. Spencer. 1868. (Library of Congress.) First published 1859.] Vol. III (pp. 93-131).

Good, but very much like parts of *The Subjection of Women*. The bad effect on men of the present position of women is brought out. "It is from having intellectual communion only with those to whom they can lay down the law, that so few men continue to advance in wisdom beyond the first stages. The most eminent men cease to improve if they associate only with disciples." "In England the wife's influence is usually on the illiberal and anti-popular side."

***** *Proceedings of the Ninth National Woman's Rights Convention*, held in New York City, Thursday, May 12, 1859, with a phonographic report of the speech of Wendell Phillips. 20 pp. (Susan B. Anthony Collection, Library of Congress.)

Pp. 9-20: A thrilling speech by Wendell Phillips; especially eloquent in its appeal to the principles of democracy.

1860

ALLAN, JAMES McGRIGOR. *The Intellectual Severance of Men and Women*. London: T. C. Newby. 124 pp. (Boston Public Library.)

A sensible little book. The main thesis is that "the respective failings of men and women, broadly comprehended under the words Dissipation and Frivolity, are not inherent in either sex, but are the results of education and the modification of society."

BEECHER, HENRY WARD. *Woman's Influence in Politics*; An Address delivered at the Cooper Institute, New York, Thursday, February 2, 1860. Boston: R. F. Wallcut. 18 pp. (Library of Congress.)

An attempt is made to prove that "bad men will receive their quietus in that day when woman becomes a voter." Such excessive claims are an impediment to progress.

DALL, CAROLINE (editor). *A Practical Illustration of "Woman's Right to Labor"*; or, A Letter from Marie Zakrzewska, M. D., late of Berlin, Prussia. Boston: Walker, Wise & Co. (Library of Congress.)

An account of the difficulties and temptations in the way of women who sought to earn their living at this time. The author of the letter relates her own experiences. The purpose of the book is to maintain this argument: "Let woman enter fully into business, with its serious responsibilities and duties; let it be made as honorable and as profitable to her as to men; . . . and we shall need no other purification of society."

*** MILL, JOHN STUART. [*Considerations on Representative Government*. New York: Harper & Bros. 1862. (Library of Congress.) First published 1860.] Chap. VIII. Of the Extension of the Suffrage.

The essay is on the extension of the suffrage in general; only the last five pages are on woman suffrage. These pages are not necessarily dependent on what goes before, and form an admirable argument in themselves. Especially well put is the point that woman's "indirect agency can only be prevented from being politically mischievous by being exchanged for direct."

STANTON, ELIZABETH CADY. *Appeal to the Women of New York.* 1860. 4 pp. (Boston Public Library.)

STANTON, ELIZABETH CADY. "*I have all the Rights I Want.*" [1860?] 4 pp. (Boston Public Library.)

STANTON, ELIZABETH CADY. *It is so Unlady-like.* [1860?] 4 pp. (Boston Public Library.)

Woman's Rights Pamphlets. (New York Public Library.)

This is a volume compiled and presented to the Astor Library by Thomas Wentworth Higginson in 1860. The following note is inserted in Mr. Higginson's own writing: "This volume comprises all the pamphlets which can be regarded as bearing on the immediate history of the Woman's Rights Movement in the United States, up to this date. There have been other conventions, but their reports were not published in pamphlet form. No other almanac was ever published. T. W. H."

These pamphlets are entered each under its own date.

1861

*****PHILLIPS, WENDELL. *Suffrage for Woman.* [Speeches, Lectures and Letters. 2 vols. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1894. (Library of Congress.) Vol. II., pp. 110-127. Cf. footnote on p. 19.]

A wonderful speech, though not as good as the one of 1851. It is especially admirable in its exposition of the

principles of democratic government and of the economic effect of the possession of the ballot. "Let public opinion only grant that, like their thousand brothers, those thousand women may go out; and wherever they find work to do, do it without a stigma being set upon them. . . . This is all we claim; and we claim the ballot for this reason: the moment you give women power, that moment men will see to it that she has the way cleared for her. As Jeremy Bentham says, 'the upper classes never yielded a privilege without being bullied out of it.' . . . You must force the upper classes to do justice by physical or some other power. The age of physical power is gone, and we want to put ballots into the hands of women."

1864

FARNHAM, ELIZA W. *Woman and her Era*. New York: A. J. Davis & Co. 2 vols. (Library of Congress.)

The object of the book is to establish the superiority of the female sex. The course of the argument is explained as follows in the opening chapter:

"Life is exalted in proportion to its organic and functional complexity;

"Woman's organism is more complex and her totality of function larger than those of any other being inhabiting our earth;

"Therefore her position in the scale of life is the most exalted—the sovereign one."

The writer naturally encounters a good many difficulties. As Thomas Wentworth Higginson says in his review of the book (*Atlantic Monthly*, vol. 114, September, 1864, pp. 388-390), she has to "assume the highest woman to be the typical woman, and the lowest man to be the typical man." And she has to admit that "the most powerful feminine souls have appeared in masculine forms, thus far in human career."

1866

- * BEECHER, HENRY WARD. *Woman's Duty to Vote*. [Speeches of George William Curtis and Henry Ward Beecher. New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association. 1898. (Susan B. Anthony Collection, Library of Congress.)] Delivered 1866.

***** PHILLIPS, WENDELL. *Woman's Rights and Woman's Duties*. [Speeches, Lectures and Letters. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1894. (Library of Congress.) Vol. II., pp. 128-138. Cf. footnote on p. 19.]

"I believe that to confer the ballot will add but little to the influence of woman. I am interested in this question because I wish to put recognised power where there already exists unrecognised influence. I think unrecognised influence is always dangerous. It acts under no adequate sense of responsibility. Society does not attempt to check it. It is unheeded and unwatched. Consequently it is always doubly liable to corruption."

SPEAR, Mrs. C. H. *A Brief Essay on the Position of Woman*. London: Trübner & Co. 37 pp. (Library of Congress.)

The usual theoretical arguments, advanced in a dull and stiff manner.

1867

- * CURTIS, GEORGE WILLIAM. *The Right of Suffrage; A Speech made in the Constitutional Convention of the State of New York, July 19, 1867*. [Orations and Addresses of George William Curtis, edited by Charles Eliot Norton. New York: Harper & Bros. 1894. (Library of Congress.) Vol. I., pp. 181-213.]

Not as good an argument as one would expect from George William Curtis. It contains some unsound reason-

ing; for example—"They assert merely that the general enfranchisement of women would be a novelty, which is true of every step of political progress and is, therefore, a presumption in its favor." A very pretty simile is quoted from *The Lawe's Resolution of Women's Rights* (1632):

"It is true that man and woman are one person, but understand in what manner. When a small brooke or little river incorporateth with Rhodanus, Humber, or the Thames, the poor rivulet loseth her name; it is carried and recarried with the new associate—it beareth no sway—it possesseth nothing during coverture. A woman as soon as she is married is called *covert*—in Latine *nupta*—that is, veiled; as it were, overclouded and shadowed; she hath lost her streame. . . . See here the reason of that which I touched upon before—that women have no voice in Parliament."

***** MILL, JOHN STUART. *Speech on the Admission of Women to the Electoral Franchise*. Spoken in the House of Commons, May 20, 1867. London: Trübner & Co. 1867. 18 pp. (New York Public Library.)

A great speech, less brilliant than the best speeches of Wendell Phillips, but possibly more weighty. Speaking of the influence women now have on public affairs, Mill says: "If they do not understand and cannot enter into the man's feelings of public duty, they do care about his personal interest, and that is the scale into which their weight will certainly be thrown. They will be an influence always at hand, cooperating with the man's selfish promptings, lying in wait for his moments of moral irresolution, and doubling the strength of every temptation." This is part of his answer to the argument that "women do not want it": "No one is so well schooled as most women are in making a virtue of necessity; it costs little to dis-

claim caring for what is not offered; and frankness in the expression of sentiments which may be displeasing and may be thought uncomplimentary to their nearest connections, is not one of the virtues which a woman's education tends to cultivate."

STANTON, ELIZABETH CADY. *Address in favor of Universal Suffrage*, for the election of delegates to the Constitutional Convention. Before the Judiciary Committees of the legislature of New York, in the Assembly Chamber, January 23, 1867, in behalf of the American Equal Rights Association. Albany: Weed, Parsons & Co. 24 pp. (New York Public Library.)

A good argument for universal suffrage, with special reference to the woman question.

1868

STOWE, HARRIET BEECHER. *Woman's Sphere*. [The Chimney Corner. By Christopher Crowfield (pseud.). Boston: Ticknor & Fields. (Boston Public Library.) pp. 27-62.]

This is partly an argument for woman suffrage, and partly a vindication of the dignity of household labor. Mrs. Stowe believes in *la carrière ouverte aux talents*, but she thinks that except in rare cases woman's sphere is the home—another's home if not her own; and she regards domestic service as the best profession for a woman of only average ability and strength who is obliged to earn her living.

1869

** BUTLER, JOSEPHINE E. (editor). *Woman's Work and Woman's Culture: A Series of Essays*. London: Macmillan & Co. 367 pp. (New York Public Library.)

The essays dealing with woman suffrage are:

Introduction, by Josephine E. Butler. Good, but unim-

passioned and somewhat diffuse. A large part of the attack is directed against what has since become an *überwundene Standpunkt*.

I. *The Final Cause of Woman*, by Frances Power Cobbe. Very much like the introduction in substance, but more spirited.

VII. *Female Suffrage, considered chiefly with regard to its Indirect Results*, by Frances Julia Wedgwood.

FERRIN, MARY UPTON. *Woman's Defence*: Reply to Horace Greeley's Lecture recently delivered in Providence, R. I. Peabody: Charles D. Howard. 16 pp. (Library of Congress.)

This is as dogmatic as any argument against woman suffrage. "The right of suffrage is one of the natural inherent rights of the whole human race," etc. There are a great many ineffective appeals to the Bible; and the manner throughout is absurdly grandiloquent.

**** HOAR, GEORGE F. *Woman's Right and the Public Welfare*. Remarks before a Joint Special Committee of the Massachusetts Legislature. April 14, 1869. Boston: C. K. Whipple. 16 pp. (Library of Congress.)

A strong, concise and comprehensive argument. "It is the gravest charge that can be made against your existing institutions that she does not ask for it [the vote]. You do me a great wrong if you deprive me of my vote: you do me a greater wrong if you deprive me of my wish for my vote. If God has given to woman the love of country, it is her right to indulge that love by laboring for its advancement."

***** MILL, JOHN STUART. *The Subjection of Women*. New edition, edited with introductory analysis, by Stanton Coit, Ph.D. London, New York and Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co. 1906. 128 pp. (New York Public Library.) First published 1869.

This is still far and away the best argument on woman suffrage—in fact, it would be hard to find a better argument on any subject. The concessions that have been made to women since Mill's time affect hardly at all the force of the argument. In the introduction to this new edition, such passages as refer to conditions now obsolete are quoted, and the legal changes in question are described in footnotes. There is also an excellent analysis of the essay.

"However great and apparently ineradicable the moral and intellectual differences between men and women might be, the evidence of there being natural differences could only be negative. Those only could be inferred to be natural which could not possibly be artificial—the residuum, after deducting every characteristic of either sex which can admit of being explained from education or external circumstances. The profoundest knowledge of the laws of the formation of character is indispensable to entitle any one to affirm even that there is any difference, much more what the difference is, between the two sexes considered as moral and rational beings; and since no one as yet has that knowledge, . . . no one is thus far entitled to any positive opinion on the subject."

"All causes, social and natural, combine to make it unlikely that women should be collectively rebellious to the power of men. They are so far in a position different from all other subject classes, that their masters require something more from them than actual service. Men do not want solely the obedience of women, they want their sentiments." "When we put together three things—

first, the natural attraction between opposite sexes; secondly, the wife's entire dependence on the husband, every privilege or pleasure she has being either his gift, or depending entirely on his will; and lastly, that the principal object of human pursuit, consideration, and all objects of social ambition, can in general be sought or obtained by her only through him, it would be a miracle if the object of being attractive to men had not become the polar star of feminine education and formation of character. And, this great means of influence over the minds of women having been acquired, an instinct of selfishness made men avail themselves of it to the utmost as a means of holding women in subjection, by representing to them meekness, submissiveness, and resignation of all individual will into the hands of a man, as an essential part of sexual attractiveness."

"If it be said that the doctrine of the equality of the sexes rests only on theory, it must be remembered that the contrary doctrine also has only theory to rest upon. All that is proved in its favor by direct experience, is that mankind have been able to exist under it, and to attain the degree of improvement and prosperity which we now see; but whether that prosperity has been attained sooner, or is now greater, than it would have been under the other system, experience does not say."

"The ladies of reigning families are the only women who are allowed the same range of interests and freedom of development as men; and it is precisely in their case that there is not found to be any inferiority. Exactly where and in proportion as women's capacities for government have been tried, in that proportion have they been found adequate."

"We have had the morality of submission and the morality of chivalry and generosity; the time is now come for the morality of justice."

STILLMAN, JAMES W. *Woman Suffrage*. Speech delivered in the House of Representatives of Rhode Island, Thursday, February 25, 1869. Providence: Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Association. (Boston Public Library.)

Good general argument.

*** *Report of a Meeting of the London National Society for Women's Suffrage*, held at the Gallery of the Architectural Society, in Conduit Street, Saturday, July 17, 1869. London: Spottiswoode & Co., Printers. 34 pp. (Boston Public Library.)

The report contains able speeches by John Stuart Mill, Charles Kingsley, Professor Henry Fawcett, Lord Houghton, John Morley, and Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke.

1870

CRIDGE, ANNIE DENTON. *Man's Rights; or, How would You Like it? Comprising Dreams*. Boston: William Denton. 48 pp. (Boston Public Library.)

The writer tries to show the absurdity of the present position of women by conjuring up scenes on another planet in which the traditional positions of men and women are reversed.

*** CURTIS, GEORGE WILLIAM. *Fair Play for Women; An Address before the American Woman Suffrage Association, at Steinway Hall, New York, May 12, 1870*. [Orations and Addresses of George William Curtis, edited by Charles Eliot Norton. New York:

Harper & Bros. 1894. Vol. I., pp. 217-238. (Library of Congress.)]

A fine speech, full of spirit and irony. "There is but one law by which any sphere can be determined, and that is perfect liberty of development. If a man says to me that it is to the nature of molten lead to run into bullets, and I know nothing about lead, I may believe him until I suddenly detect a bullet-mould in his pocket. Then I see that it is to the interest of that man that molten lead should run into bullets; and what he calls the nature of lead is merely his own advantage. So I look into history and into the society around me, and I see that the position of women which is most agreeable upon the whole to men is that which they call the 'heaven appointed sphere' of woman. It may or may not be so; all that I can see thus far is that men choose to have it so."

- * GROVER, A. J. *The Bible Argument against Woman Stated and Answered from a Bible Standpoint*. Earlville, Ill. 23 pp. (Boston Public Library.)

The chief point of the answer is the charge of inconsistency. Biblical injunctions, the writer says, are appealed to only when they happen to serve the purpose in hand, and are dropped as soon as they cease to tally with custom. "The voice of the nation, uttered in the Proclamation of Emancipation, annulled all the texts for slavery, and forty thousand ministers say amen." The essay is very readable, especially the first part, in which the Bible argument against women is presented in all its strength.

- HOOKER, ISABELLA BEECHER. *A Mother's Letters to a Daughter on Woman Suffrage*. Tracts of Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association, No. 2. Hartford: Case, Lockwood & Brainard. 25 pp. (New York Public Library.)

Of no present value.

- * HOOKER, JOHN. *The Bible and Woman Suffrage*. Tracts of Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association, No. 1. Hartford: Case, Lockwood & Brainard. 17 pp. (New York Public Library.)

A good point is made in this tract—viz., that the very passage in St. Paul's Epistles upon which anti-suffragists base their claim to biblical sanction, contains an injunction to servants as severe as that to wives ("Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling.") "And yet who ever thinks of claiming that a servant cannot vote?"

- **** HUXLEY, THOMAS HENRY. *Emancipation—Black and White*. [Lay Sermons, Addresses and Reviews. London: Macmillan & Co.; New York: The Macmillan Co. 1903. First published 1870. pp. 17-23.]

An admirable essay. Huxley maintains that the real justification for emancipation, both in the case of negroes and in that of women, lies in "the moral law that no human being can arbitrarily dominate over another without grievous danger to his own nature." He rejects most of the arguments of "philogynists" as nonsensical, and thinks that when women have a fair field and no favor so far as artificial conditions are concerned, they will still be handicapped by an inherent inferiority. But "granting the alleged defects of women, is it not somewhat absurd to sanction and maintain a system of education which would seem to have been specially contrived to exaggerate all these defects?" "The mind of the average girl is less different from that of the average boy than the mind of one boy is from that of another; so that whatever argument justifies a given education for all boys justifies its application to girls as well. . . . Let them, if they so please, become merchants, barristers, politicians. . . . Let

Nature alone sit high above the lists, rain influence and judge the prize." "The duty of man is to see that not a grain is piled upon that load beyond what Nature imposes; that injustice is not added to inequality."

NEWMAN, FRANCIS W. *A Lecture on Women's Suffrage.*

Delivered in the Guildhall, Bath, on January 26, 1870.

Bristol: I. Arrowsmith. (Boston Public Library.)

Petition for Woman's Suffrage, in the Senate, March 2, 1870.

Appendix to Journals of Senate and Assembly, of the Eighteenth Session of the legislature of the State of California, vol. II., doc. 13. (Library of Congress.)

The petition is signed by about 2000 persons.

***** *Report of a Meeting of the London National Society for Women's Suffrage*, held at the Hanover Square Rooms, on Saturday, March 26, 1870. London: Spottiswoode & Co. 34 pp. (New York Public Library.)

All the speeches reported are good (particularly those by Mrs. Fawcett, Lord Amberley, Miss Helen Taylor, and Jacob Bright). But by far the best are the admirable speeches of John Stuart Mill (pp. 4-9) and Professor Cairnes (pp. 9-13). Mill deals with the probable effect of women on politics in a masterly manner, with just the ideal mixture of restraint and enthusiasm; he also refutes ably the argument that women will be unduly influenced by the clergy. These are points which are not dwelt upon in Mill's other speeches. Professor Cairnes argues the point of the effect of political responsibility on women, and refutes objections with his usual dialectical brilliancy.

1871

CAMPBELL, Governor, of Wyoming. *Woman Suffrage.*

Message of Governor Campbell to the Legislature of Wyoming, December 4, 1871. Published by the

Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Association. Shoemakertown, Pa.: Cheltenham Press. 1872. 7 pp. (New York Public Library.)

The message was occasioned by a bill repealing the law that established woman's suffrage in Wyoming. The bill passed the legislature, but was vetoed by Governor Campbell. The reasons for his veto are here stated.

CLAFLIN, TENNIE C. *Constitutional Equality a Right of Woman*. New York: Woodhull, Claflin & Co. 148 pp. (Library of Congress.)

Worthless and dull.

DAHLGREN, MADELINE VINTON. *Thoughts on Female Suffrage, and in Vindication of Woman's True Rights*. Washington: Blanchard & Mohun. 22 pp. (Library of Congress.)

This is an argument against woman suffrage; but it is as effective in strengthening the suffrage cause as most arguments in favor of it. Indeed, it almost embraces the alternative presented by Thomas Wentworth Higginson—that woman should not learn the alphabet. "We have the portrait given for us: silver hair, blue gown, red shawl, Greek grammar in hand, law-book under arm, incendiary journal peeping out of pocket in spite of laws, . . . mounted on a white horse like the great reaper, o'erleaping all barriers like a fox-hunter!" Pages 18-22 are especially amusing.

DAVIS, PAULINA W. (compiler). *A History of the National Woman's Rights Movement for Twenty Years*, with the proceedings of the Decade Meeting held at Apollo Hall, October 20, 1870, with an appendix containing the history of the movement during the winter of 1871, in the National Capital. New York: Journey-

men Printers' Cooperative Association. 1871. 402 pp. (New York Public Library.)

Pompous and uninteresting.

SPENCER, Mrs. H. C. *Problems on the Woman Question, Social, Political, and Scriptural.* Washington: Langran, Ogilvie & Co. 17 pp. (Library of Congress.)

Very ill-tempered and unpersuasive. It is in the form of a series of questions (a hundred and twenty-seven of them) addressed to women who are opposed to the suffrage movement.

TILTON, THEODORE. *The Rights of Women: A Letter to Horace Greeley.* New York: Office of the *Golden Age*. 11 pp. (Boston Public Library.)

This letter is part of a debate that was carried on between Horace Greeley and Theodore Tilton in their organs, the *Tribune* and the *Golden Age*.

WALKER, Dr. MARY E. *Woman's Franchise.* [Hit. New York: American News Co. 1871. (Boston Public Library.)] Chap. V., pp. 108-136.

Not good.

WOODHULL, VICTORIA C. *A Lecture on Constitutional Equality,* delivered at Lincoln Hall, Washington, D. C., Thursday, February 16, 1871. 28 pp. (Library of Congress.)

An absurd argument, based chiefly on the fact that the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution, in stating that "the right of citizens of the United States to vote . . . shall not be denied . . . on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude," adds no restriction with regard to sex, and therefore implies that the right shall not be denied to women.

- *** *Debate in the House of Commons on the Women's Disabilities Bill*, on May 3, 1871. Printed for the National Society for Women's Suffrage, and published by Messrs. Trübner & Co., Paternoster Row. London. 39 pp. (New York Public Library.)

The debate is very interesting; the weak arguments of the members who opposed the measure add strength to the other side. There is a rather non-committal speech by Gladstone, a strong speech—introducing the bill—by Jacob Bright, and a good piece of refutation by Mr. W. Hunt. The effect of Mr. Bright's speech, however, is weakened through its being reported in indirect discourse.

1872

- CRAVEN, M. B. *Criticism on the Apostle Paul, in defence of Women's Rights: Intemperance, War, and Biblical Theology*, the three great obstructions to Christianity. Philadelphia: Barclay & Co. 61 pp. (Library of Congress.)

Rather offensive; flippant, yet without wit. Badly written.

- STURGE, E. M. *Women's Suffrage*. Speech delivered in the Town Hall, Birmingham, December 6, 1872. Reprinted from the *Birmingham Morning News*. 7 pp. (Boston Public Library.)

- * *Black and White Slaves*. Reprinted from the *Examiner*, October 19, 1872. London: Office of the *Examiner*. (New York Public Library.)

An effective parallel is drawn between negro slavery and the disabilities of women.

**** *The Woman Question*: papers reprinted from the *Examiner*. London: R. H. Lapham. 88 pp. (Library of Congress.)

All these papers are excellent, especially those on *The Female Franchise*, *The Vice of Contentment*, *Women and War*, *Women and Work*, *The Law of Breach of Promise*, *Dowries*, and *Rising in Life*. The best is *The Female Franchise*. It is an admirable *argumentum ad hominem* for the liberal party. "Till experiments are tried on an extended scale and for several generations, no one can offer even a reasonable guess as to the sort of power which the minds of women may develop, or of what amount of muscular strength and endurance their now semi-valetudinarian frames may prove to be capable. But one thing is clear. It is not for those who profess belief in the advantages of liberty, nay, in the beneficence of the divine gift of moral free agency to responsible beings, to take it for granted that the change from subjection to independence, from a narrow circle of duties to a wide one, from the condition of a Jesuit under vow of obedience to that of a free soul owing allegiance to God alone, can be for women at large a change of a hurtful or deteriorating kind."

1873

BURNHAM, CARRIE S. *Woman Suffrage*. The Argument of Carrie S. Burnham before Chief Justice Reed, and Associate Justices Agnew, Sharswood and Mercur, of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, in Banc, on the Third and Fourth of April, 1873. With an appendix containing the opinion of Hon. George Sharswood, and a complete history of the case. Also, a compilation of the laws of Pennsylvania touching the Rights of Women. Philadelphia: Citizen's Suffrage Association. 112 pp. (Library of Congress.)

- *** EASTMAN, MARY F. *A Glance at the Situation.* An address delivered at the Annual Meeting of the New England Woman Suffrage Association, Tremont Temple, Boston, May 27, 1873. Boston: Woman's Journal. 15 pp. (Boston Public Library.)

An eloquent and pithy speech, containing many very ingenious parallels. "The argument was as fairly put against the colonists in 1774, by Lord George Germain, in a debate in parliament on a motion to alter the charter of Massachusetts. 'I cannot think (he said) the noble Lord (referring to Lord North the Premier) will do a better thing than to put an end to the town-meetings in the colony of Massachusetts. I would not have men of a mercantile cast, every day collecting themselves together, and debating about political matters. I would have them follow their occupations as merchants, and not consider themselves as ministers of that country. They have, sir, no Government. Their proceedings are those of a tumultuous and riotous rabble who ought, if they had the least prudence, to follow their mercantile employment, and not trouble themselves with politics and governments, which they do not understand.'"

The aptness of this parallel makes one wonder that it is not a suffrage catchword: "The contrast we find between the spirit of the law and the protestations of speech reminds me of the trick of Chaucer's fox :

'Mulier est hominis confusio'

Madame, the sentence of this Latin is:

'Womman is mannes joy and al his bliss.'"

- ** FAWCETT, MILLICENT GARRETT. *Mr. Fitzjames Stephen on the Position of Women.* London: Macmillan & Co. 1873. 15 pp. (Boston Public Library.)

This is an excellent reply to Mr. James Fitzjames Stephen's treatment of the woman question in *Liberty*,

Equality and Fraternity. It is not as complete, however, as the reply made by Lydia E. Becker (1874).

HEYWOOD, EZRA HERVEY. *Uncivil Liberty: An Essay to Show the Injustice and Impolicy of Ruling Woman without her Consent.* Princeton, Mass.: Cooperative Publishing Co. 23 pp. (Library of Congress.)

Slightly better than the average argument. Too much stress is laid on cruelties to women.

*** HOAR, Senator GEORGE F. *Woman Suffrage Essential to the True Republic.* Address delivered May 27, 1873. American Woman Suffrage Association. 4 pp. (Columbia Library.)

An eloquent address, but too much stress is laid on the value of woman's instinct.

WEBSTER, Rev. THOMAS. *Woman Man's Equal.* With an Introduction by Bishop Simpson. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden; New York: Nelson & Phillips. 297 pp. (Library of Congress.)

Dull and out of date.

Association for the Advancement of Women. Papers and Letters, presented at the First Congress. 1873. New York: Mrs. William Ballard, Book and Job Printer. (S. B. Anthony Collection, Library of Congress.)

The interesting papers are:

* *The Relation of Woman to her Dress*, by Rev. Celia Burleigh (pp. 109-121).

Woman's Place in Government, by Mary F. Eastman (pp. 121-126).

The Enfranchisement of Women, by Mrs. J. B. Hooker (pp. 126-132).

1874

***** BECKER, LYDIA E. *Liberty, Equality and Fraternity*.
 A Reply to Mr. Fitzjames Stephen's Strictures on Mr.
 J. S. Mill's *Subjection of Women*. Reprinted from the
 Women's Suffrage Journal. Manchester: A. Ireland
 & Co. 27 pp. (New York Public Library.)

James Fitzjames Stephen's *Liberty, Equality and Fraternity* is remarkable as containing practically the only substantial argument ever written against woman suffrage by a man—or woman—of real ability. Many able people have been opposed to it, of course, but they have generally dismissed the subject with a few words. Fitzjames Stephen really takes up Mill's arguments one by one and tries to refute them, instead of writing as if nothing had ever been said before on the subject, as do most of the opponents of woman suffrage. Lydia Becker's reply to his clever dialectics is admirable; it is written in a style much like his own. After all, even *Liberty, Equality and Fraternity* makes a poor showing except by contrast with other arguments of its kind. As Lydia Becker says, "it is instructive to find that so accomplished an advocate can neither discover any fresh arguments nor dress up the old ones in a logical manner." Her refutation of his sophistical comparison between the subjection of women and the subjection of minors is particularly good. "The temporary subjection of the infant to the parent is an accidental relation of two persons having inherently equal personal rights. The permanent subjection of women is affirmed to be a relation which presupposes inherently unequal rights."

It is a notable fact, by the way, that this red-letter anti-suffrage argument by Fitzjames Stephen rests frankly on the assumption of the "real inequality" of the sexes—inequality, too, in the most ordinary sense of the word.

"Ingenious people," he says, "may argue about anything, and Mr. Mill does say a great number of things about women which, as I have already observed, I will not discuss [he considers such discussions "unpleasant in the direction of indecorum"]; but all the talk in the world will never shake the proposition that men are stronger than women in every shape. They have greater muscular and nervous force, greater intellectual force, greater vigor of character." And of course he thinks that, in case of a disagreement between husband and wife, "the wife ought to give way." "I say also that to regard this as a humiliation, as a wrong, as an evil in itself, is a mark not of spirit and courage, but of a base, unworthy, mutinous disposition."

MILLER, LEO. *Woman and the Divine Republic*. Buffalo: Haas & Nauert. 213 pp. (Library of Congress.)

In the preface, the author says, "In the following pages I shall endeavor to prove from the indubitable principles of Nature and Revelation that the Woman Movement, taken together in all its branches, will culminate in the development of a new and distinct type of civilisation, a system of laws and government worthy to be called the DIVINE REPUBLIC." The refrain that runs through the book is the theory, solemnly propounded, that "in man, the material world finds its personal representative; in Woman, the spiritual." May we be defended from such ardent defenders!

OSSOLI, MARGARET FULLER. *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*, and kindred papers relating to the Sphere, Condition, and Duties of Woman. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 420 pp. (Library of Congress.)

This book is much less forcible than Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Women*. There are, however, several memorable sentences—this one, for

example, which was often quoted by contemporary writers: "Had Christendom been true to its standard, . . . women would now have not only equal power with men—for of that omnipotent nature will never permit her to be defrauded—but a chartered power too fully recognised to be abused."

STRAKER, D. AUGUSTUS. *Citizenship, its Rights and Duties*,—Woman Suffrage. Washington: New National Era Print. 24 pp. (Boston Public Library.)

A pamphlet of no importance.

Report of the Special Committee on Woman Suffrage, etc., made to the General Assembly at its January session, A. D. 1874. Providence: Providence Press Co., printers to the State.

1875

BOWDITCH, WILLIAM I. *Taxation of Women in Massachusetts.* Cambridge: John Wilson & Son. 62 pp. (Boston Public Library.)

An argument for woman suffrage on the ground that "taxation without representation is tyranny." Substantially the same as *Woman Suffrage a Right not a Privilege* (1879) by the same author.

- * TURNER, ELIZA S. *Four quite New Reasons why you should Wish your Wife to Vote.* Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Association. 10 pp. (Boston Public Library.)

A good argument *ad hominem*—or rather *ad virum*. With much humor and vividness the writer shows how much more agreeable the average home will be when women have the suffrage. The reasons, by the way, are not new.

Papers read at the Third Congress of Women, Syracuse, October 13-15, 1875. 28 pp. (Susan B. Anthony Collection, Library of Congress.)

The best papers are:

Address of the President (Prof. Maria Mitchell).

Place of Women in our Public Schools. By Ednah D. Cheney.

Marriage and Work. By Rev. Antoinette B. Blackwell.

Organisation as Related to Civilisation. By Anna C. Brackett.

1876

GAGE, MATILDA JOSLYN (Chairman of the Executive Committee). Address of the National Woman Suffrage Association to the National Republican Convention. Philadelphia. (Library of Congress.)

Stiff and didactic.

GAGE, MATILDA JOSLYN, and SARA J. SPENCER. *Arguments before the Committee on the District of Columbia of the United States Senate and House of Representatives upon the Centennial Woman Suffrage Memorial of the Women Citizens of this Nation, asking for Equal Suffrage for Men and Women in the District of Columbia*. Washington: Gibson Brothers. 12 pp. (Library of Congress.)

Too bitter for present persuasiveness.

- * *A Letter to the Right Hon. John Bright, M. P.* From a Lady in "the Gallery." London: printed by E. Matthews & Sons. 8 pp. (Boston Public Library.)

An excellent reply, in which skilful use is made of Mr. Bright's repudiation of his own most cherished liberal principles.

1877

ROBINSON, WILLIAM S. [*"Warrington" Pen-portraits:*
A Collection of Personal and Political Reminiscences
from 1848 to 1876, from the writings of William S.
Robinson. Boston: edited and published by Mrs.
S. Warrington Robinson. (Library of Congress.)]
Chap. XVIII. The Woman Question.

Sensible, but without distinction.

1878

***** IBSEN, HENRIK. *A Doll's House*. New York: Charles
Scribner's Sons. 1906. 156 pp. (Library of Con-
gress.) First published 1878.

The most deep-seated objections to woman suffrage are founded on a fear that it will wreck the time-honored feminine ideal. Half the time the ideal that people have in mind is nothing nobler, in the final analysis, than Nora as she appears in the first part of the play. It must be very difficult indeed for any one to read *A Doll's House* and still feel that this ultra-feminine type of woman is worth preserving. The whole of the last act, especially, is a ringing battle-cry of freedom for women to which no true American can fail to respond. Of course a long-cherished sentiment can survive many a shock, but it must at least be shaken to its foundations by such an attack as this—so just and yet so full of passionate indignation. The essence of the matter is contained in these short sentences:

"Nora.—When I look back on it now, I seem to have been living here like a beggar, from hand to mouth. I lived by performing tricks for you, Torvald. . . . It is your fault that my life has come to nothing.

"Helmer.—Why, Nora, how unreasonable and ungrateful you are! Have you not been happy here?

"Nora.—No, never. I thought I was; but I never was.

"Helmer.—Not—not happy!

"Nora.—No; only merry. And you have always been so kind to me. But our house has been nothing but a play-room. Here I have been your doll-wife, just as at home I used to be papa's doll-child. I thought it fun when you played with me, just as the children did when I played with them. That has been our marriage, Torvald."

1879

BOWDITCH, WILLIAM L. *Woman Suffrage a Right, not a Privilege*. Cambridge, Mass.: University Press; John Wilson & Son. 52 pp. (Library of Congress.)

The chief argument is that the restriction of the suffrage to men is contrary to the theory, at least, of the American constitution. The Declaration of Rights (1780) rests, the author says, on the principle that "the consent of the people, and not that of the men alone, forms the only just foundation for government;" therefore, women, being as large a part of the people as men, have as strong a claim to the ballot.

- * SMITH, SIDNEY. *The Enfranchisement of Women and the Law of the Land*. Manchester: A. Ireland & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 31 pp. (Boston Public Library.)

A carefully constructed argument for woman suffrage, the chief contention being that women were really deprived of the suffrage, not by any act of parliament, but by an erroneous interpretation put upon the Reform Act of 1832 by the Court of Common Pleas.

Nine Years' Experience of Woman Suffrage in Wyoming. Boston: W. K. Moody, printer. 12 pp. (Boston Public Library.)

Testimony reprinted from newspaper editorials, etc.

1880

DUDLEY, MARION V. *Suffrage for Women: A Plea in its Behalf*. Addressed to the Senate Committee on State Affairs, in the Assembly Chamber of the State of Wisconsin, at Madison, March 2, 1880. 10 pp. (New York Public Library.)

- * DUMAS, ALEXANDRE, fils. *Les Femmes qui tuent et les femmes qui votent*. Paris: Calmann Lévy. 1880. 216 pp. (Boston Public Library.)

An extremely interesting book. M. Dumas begins by discussing certain recent murder trials in which women who had committed deliberate murders were acquitted, not because there was any doubt as to the facts, but simply because public sentiment felt that since the laws were unjust to women, the women could not be condemned for taking vengeance into their own hands. "L'acquittement des coupables, prononcé par le tribunal, imposé par l'opinion, est-il juste? Non. Mais ce qui fait l'acquittement de ces coupables arrêtés, c'est que la loi ne peut pas sévir contre les véritables coupables qu'elle couvre depuis trop longtemps, et que, ne pouvant pas appliquer la justice absolue, elle est condamnée, elle, la loi, à n'appliquer que la justice relative, ce qui est bien près de l'injustice." (p. 26.) He thinks that a few more such murders and futile trials will lead France to adopt the only reasonable solution—to give women a share in making the laws under which they are to be tried. "C'est justement pour que la loi et la morale soient plus respectées qu'elles ne sont que nous demandons que les femmes soient admises, par leur concours au vote et par conséquent aux lois, à la connaissance et par conséquent au respect des lois qu'elles auraient contribué à faire." (p. 207.) The book deals largely with questions of marriage and divorce, on which M. Dumas'

very radical views seem often to contradict each other. His advocacy of woman suffrage comes in as the climax (chiefly pp. 179-216).

1881

GAGE, MATILDA JOSLYN. *Scrap-books of Newspaper Clippings on Woman Suffrage*, presented to the Library of Congress by Mrs. Matilda Joslyn Gage. 4 vols.

"This series of scrap-books relating to woman suffrage was begun by Matilda Joslyn Gage, and completed by her children, after her demise, from material accumulated by her." The clippings are not taken from papers of any importance, and are not likely to interest any one to-day. The dates extend from 1850 to 1881.

OWEN, ROSAMOND DALE. *Woman's Work*. Cincinnati: Woodrow & Co. 35 pp. (Susan B. Anthony Collection, Library of Congress.)

The main part of this pamphlet is on *The Constitution of Cooperative Kitchens*. The proposed constitution has fourteen articles, and includes a detailed estimate of expenses. There is a short chapter on woman suffrage at the end of the pamphlet.

ROBINSON, HARRIET H. *Massachusetts in the Woman Suffrage Movement*. A general, political, legal and legislative history from 1774 to 1881. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 265 pp. (Library of Congress.)

Some interesting information, but no argument of value.

- * *Women's Rights as Preached by Women Past and Present*. By "A Looker On." London: C. Kegan Paul & Co. 34 pp. (Boston Public Library.)

An admirable argument for universal franchise. The writer contrasts the bold position taken by "Sophia" and

Mary Wollstonecraft with the efforts made by the "practical" reformers who only ask for the extension of the property qualification to women. "Many of their best friends believe that even the compromise of a female householder's suffrage would be more quickly won, and that the ladies would gain over more hearts to their cause, if, bearing in mind how far the greater wrongs of women dwarf the less, they would support their appeal for this first instalment of justice by nobler arguments than their tax-gatherer's book; assert the political rights of womanhood with as much dignity as their working-class brothers displayed in asserting the rights of manhood, and cease to proclaim on every platform that all they ask is a privilege for the 500,000 spinsters and widows who have the most money in their purses." "They have not said to their brothers: Respect in us the distinctive qualities of heart and mind, the special aptitudes, intelligence, and aspirations of our sex. Their cry has been and is: Respect our property: let not the sex of the possessor interfere with the sacred rights of property."

1882

COBBE, FRANCES POWER. *The Duties of Women*. New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association. 161 pp. (Susan B. Anthony Collection, Library of Congress.)

This book is rather conservative, and does not bear directly on the subject of woman suffrage. But its arguments tend to support the theory that woman suffrage would bring about an improvement in public morality.

*** HIGGINSON, THOMAS WENTWORTH. *Common Sense about Women*. Boston: Lee & Shepard; New York: Charles T. Dillingham. 403 pp. (Library of Congress.)

This is an excellent book—a succession of flash-lights of common sense thrown upon the conventional dogmas

about women. The best chapters are: I. *Too much Natural History*; XVII. *Vicarious Honors*; XLVII. *Mrs. Blank's Daughters*; LIX. *Sewing in Schools*; LXXXIII. *Too much Prediction*; LXXXV. *Education via Suffrage*. "We eat our breakfasts as human beings, not as men and women; and it is the same with nine tenths of our interests and duties in life" (p. 10). "Let us not set out with the theory that a boy may avail himself of all the divisions of labor in modern society, but that every girl must still spin her own cloth, and sew her own seam" (p. 222).

HOYT, JOHN W., Governor of Wyoming. *Woman Suffrage in Wyoming*. Speech delivered at Association Hall, Philadelphia, April 3, 1882. National American Woman Suffrage Association. 22 pp. (Boston Public Library.)

- * MUNGER, GEORGE G. *Shall Women Vote?* An Argument in favor of Woman Suffrage. New York: L. K. Strouse & Co. 30 pp. (Library of Congress.)

Sensible and comprehensive, but not eloquent. After advancing the positive arguments for woman suffrage, the writer takes up the arguments against it, and refutes them one by one—*The Military Duty Objection*; *The Jury Service Objection*; *The Unfitness of Woman Objection*; *The Family Discord Objection*.

1883

BEBEL, AUGUST. *Woman under Socialism* (Die Frau und der Sozialismus). Translated from the Original German of the 33d edition by Daniel de Leon. New York: New York Labor News Press. 1904. 379 pp. (Library of Congress.) First published 1883.

Chapter V.—*Woman's Civic and Political Status*—is a good general argument for woman suffrage and complete

equality of the sexes. In this chapter the argument is comparatively independent of the socialistic thesis; but the chief aim of the book as a whole is to attack the capitalistic system at its weakest spot, and socialism and woman suffrage are regarded as inseparable ideals. For a good criticism of the book, see Alys Russell's *Social Democracy and the Woman Question in Germany* (in *German Social Democracy*, by Bertrand Russell, 1896).

BLAKE, LILLIE DEVEREUX. *Woman's Place to-day*. Four Lectures, in reply to the Lenten Lectures on "Woman" by the Rev. Morgan Dix, Rector of Trinity Church. New York: John W. Lovell Co. 173 pp. (Library of Congress.)

A sufficiently good reply to the usual platitudes.

HAZARD, THOMAS R. [*Miscellaneous Essays and Letters*. Philadelphia: Collins. (Library of Congress.)] *Woman Suffrage* (pp. 115-122).

Not noteworthy.

*****SCHREINER, OLIVE (Ralph Iron, pseud.). *The Story of an African Farm*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1900. 375 pp. \$.60. (Library of Congress.) First published 1883.

In the chapter called *Lyndall* there is one of the most eloquent and impassioned pleas ever made for a broader life for women, and especially for her economic independence. "It is not what is done to us, but what is made of us . . . that wrongs us. No man can be really injured but by what modifies himself. We all enter the world little plastic beings, with so much natural force perhaps, but for the rest—blank; and the world tells us what we are to be, and shapes us by the ends it sets before us. To you it says—Work; and to us it says—Seem!

To you it says—As you approximate to man's highest ideal of God, as your arm is strong and your knowledge great, and the power to labor is with you, so you shall gain all that human heart desires. To us it says—Strength shall not help you, nor knowledge, nor labor. You shall gain what men gain, but by other means. And so the world makes men and women." (p. 222.) "When that time comes, when love is no more bought and sold, when it is not a means of making bread, when each woman's life is filled with earnest independent labor, then love will come to her, a strange sudden sweetness breaking in upon her earnest work; not sought for, but found." (p. 232.)

"VERITAS." *What is Women's Suffrage? and Why do Women Want it?* Westminster: Women's Printing Society. 1883. 9 pp. (Boston Public Library.)

Contains a detailed account of English laws that are unjust to women.

1884

BUXTON, SYDNEY C. [*Handbook to Political Questions of the Day*, with Arguments on either Side. London: John Murray. (Library of Congress.)] pp. 43-49.

Lists of arguments for and against woman suffrage; convenient for debaters, and for people who only want general information. There is no attempt at the structure of an argumentative brief.

CARPENTER, C. E. *Political Evangelism*, or Equal Rights for Women and Men. Nepa, Cal.: Smith & Wilson. (Library of Congress.)

The writer tries to prove too much—for example, that, since man represents physical, and woman moral, power, it is dangerous to keep women from voting.

TOD, ISABELLA M. S. *Women and the New Franchise Bill: A Letter to an Ulster Member of Parliament.* Belfast. Printed for private circulation. 11 pp. (Boston Public Library.)

WHEELER, L. MAY (compiler). *Booklet of Song, A Collection of Suffrage and Temperance Melodies.* Minneapolis: Coöperative Printing Co. 110 pp. (Boston Public Library.)

Most of the songs are hopelessly bad. There is one good one—"Keep Woman in her Sphere," by D. Estabrook (p. 8).

1885

- * DILKE, MARGARET MARY (Mrs. Ashton Dilke). *Women's Suffrage.* With an introduction by William Woodall, M. P. London: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co. 122 pp. (New York Public Library.)

The book itself is a rather ineffective restatement of the usual arguments, but the appendix contains some very good House of Commons speeches. The best are those by Mr. Joseph Cowen (1884) and Mr. Henry Fawcett (1884).

ENDICOTT, CHARLES E. Address before the Women's Suffrage Convention, at East Boston, October 29, 1885. 10 pp. (Boston Public Library.)

A sensible essay, but not well written. The writer fixes the chief blame for woman's political incapacity upon "the natural disinclination of a woman to do anything that will militate against her prospects for marriage, and thereby deprive herself of receiving support from a man."

LIVERMORE, D. P. *Woman Suffrage Defended by Irrefutable Arguments*, and all objections to Woman's

Suffrage carefully examined and completely answered.
Boston: Lee & Shepard. 225 pp. (Boston Public
Library.)

Not in any way remarkable.

1887

BASCOM, JOHN. [*Sociology*. New York and London:
G. P. Putnam's Sons. (Library of Congress.) Chap.
VIII.

Platitudes.

1888

FITCH, CHARLES HOWARD. *The Light under the Bushel:*
Womanhood Suffrage. Denver, Colo.: Coleman &
Haigh. 12 pp. (Library of Congress.)

A series of disjointed, numbered arguments for woman
suffrage, in a dull and formal style.

** HIGGINSON, THOMAS WENTWORTH. *Women and Men*.
New York: Harper & Bros. 210 pp. Out of print.
(Library of Congress.)

The essays in this book, though mostly about women,
have less bearing on the question of woman suffrage than
those in *Common Sense about Women* or those in *Concerning*
All of Us. They are also, for the most part, far less enter-
taining. The introduction, however, is delightful, and so
are the next two essays—*Outside the Shelter* and *The Shadow*
of the Harem.

1889

** BECKER, LYDIA E. *A Reply to the Protest which appeared*
in the Nineteenth Century Review, June, 1889. Re-
printed from the *Manchester Guardian*. Manchester:
Office of the Women's Journal. 8 pp. (Boston Public
Library.)

- *** GARRISON, W. P. and F. G. *William Lloyd Garrison, 1805-1879. The Story of his Life, told by his children.* New York: The Century Co. 1885-1889. 4 vols. (Library of Congress.)

Interesting accounts of the beginnings of the woman's rights movement *passim* (cf. index). A fine speech by Mr. Garrison (at the Woman's Rights Convention of 1853) is quoted (pp. 309-312). "I have been derisively called a 'Woman's Rights Man.' I know no such distinction. I claim to be a Human Rights Man; and wherever there is a human being, I see God-given rights inherent in that being, whatever may be the sex or complexion. To the excellence of the movement God has given witnesses in abundance, on the right hand and on the left. Show me a cause anathematised by the chief priests, the scribes, and the pharisees; which politicians and demagogues endeavor to crush; which reptiles and serpents in human flesh try to spread their slime over, and hiss down; and I will show you a cause which God loves, and angels contemplate with admiration. Such is our movement."

LANGE, HELENE. *Die Ethische Bedeutung der Frauenbewegung.* Vortrag, gehalten am 30. September 1889 in Erfurt auf der 15. Generalversammlung des Allgemeinen Deutschen Frauenvereins. Berlin: L. Oehmigke. 19 pp. (Boston Public Library.)

An ardent, though rather conservative, plea for the extension of woman's sphere.

PORTSMOUTH, COUNTESS OF. *Speech at the Annual Meeting of the Central Committee of the National Society for Women's Suffrage.* Westminster: Women's Printing Society. 7 pp. (Boston Public Library.)

SIMMS, JOSEPH. *The Past, Present and Future of Woman.* The Domestic, Social, Educational, Marital, Industrial, Mercantile, Executive, Political, Legal, Progressive,

Civilising and Ethical Aspects of the Entire Subject.
San Francisco: "Carrier Dove" Print. 40 pp. (Boston Public Library.)

The nature of this work may be judged from the title.

1890

- * CURTIS, GEORGE WILLIAM. *The Higher Education of Women*: An address delivered at the celebration of the twenty-fifth academic year of Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y., June 12, 1890. [Orations and Addresses of George William Curtis, edited by Charles Eliot Norton. New York: Harper & Bros. 1894. Vol. I. (pp. 401-425).]

An excellent essay, containing many passages that apply as well to woman suffrage as to woman's education. "We may be very sure that we shall never know the sphere of any responsible human being until he has perfect freedom of choice and liberty of growth. All we can clearly see is that the intellectual capacity of women is an inexplicable waste of reserved power, if its utmost education is justly to be deprecated as useless or undesirable." (p. 414.)

- * DUNCKLEY, HENRY. *Should Women have the Vote?* Reprinted from the *British Weekly*. Manchester: National Society for Women's Suffrage. 12 pp. (Boston Public Library.)

•A good argument, but without originality.

- GAGE, MATILDA JOSLYN. *Woman's National Liberal Union*. Report of the Convention for Organisation, February 24 and 25, 1890. Syracuse, N. Y.: Masters & Stone. 92 pp. (Library of Congress.)

The endeavor of the "Union" is to prepare the way for woman suffrage by weakening the hold of the Christian

religion on the people. Mrs. Gage founded the society because she had "become convinced that the teaching of the Church was the great obstacle to woman's freedom." The speeches and letters are poor in substance and in style. And it would seem obvious that the cause of woman suffrage has infinitely more to lose than to gain by being associated with the cause of rationalism.

*** M'CARTHY, JUSTIN, M. P. *The Political Enfranchisement of Women*. London: Central National Society for Women's Suffrage. 16 pp. (Boston Public Library.)

Not a comprehensive argument, but an admirable appeal to the sense of justice. The objection is often made in England that if the ratepayers' franchise is once given to women, then when manhood suffrage comes womanhood suffrage is sure to come too, and that when this happens politics will be feminised, since the women outnumber the men. To this M'Carthy makes a simple reply: "I venture to suggest that in a country like ours it seems hardly the fairest and most constitutional kind of argument to say, 'We will not give the vote to a certain class of voters because they are the majority.' I should think being in the majority is the most extraordinary reason for being refused a vote that the perverted ingenuity of man could devise."

1891

MCILQUHAM, HARRIET. *The Enfranchisement of Women; An Ancient Right, a Modern Need*. Published by the Women's Emancipation Union; Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Wolstoneholme Elmy, Buxton House, Congleton. 128 pp. (Susan B. Anthony Collection, Library of Congress.)

The paper shows how important a position women held in England until the time of Coke's books on law, in the early seventeenth century.

***** RITCHIE, DAVID G. [*Darwinism and Politics*. London: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co. (Library of Congress.)] pp. 62-75 and 80-82.

A completely convincing answer to the pseudo-scientific argument that increasing differentiation of sex accompanies advance in organic life, and in civilisation. Mr. Ritchie demolishes it on three successive lines—(a) on the hypothesis of the transmission of acquired characteristics; (b) on the ground of natural selection; (c) on the ground of sexual selection; and he concludes (p. 66): "Thus, *even if* the assertion of Carl Vogt were true, it offers no conclusive argument against the political and social equalisation of the sexes; because this equalisation would, on *any* recognised principles of evolution, bring about ultimately a natural equality. On the whole, however, one may fairly retain the suspicion that this alleged difference is not a fact, and that the greater average eminence (in the past) of men than of women in intellectual pursuits is entirely due (as on any theory it must be mostly due) to the effect of institutions and customs and ideas operating within the lifetime of the individual, and not to differences physically inherited." Another good point made is this: "This is always the favorite argument with the jealous champions of privilege:—first to prevent a race or class or sex from acquiring a capacity, and then to justify the refusal of rights on the ground of its absence—to shut up a bird in a narrow cage and then pretend to argue with it that it is incapable of flying. What is the reason of the power which the Catholic Church possesses over the minds of women, except that the church alone offers them any escape into a larger circle of interests than those of the patriarchal family? They do not reflect that the church brands them with a stamp of inferiority. . . . They do feel that the rule of the priest may be something higher than the rule of the household despot."

ROBBINS, LOUISE BARNUM (editor). *History and Minutes of the National Council of Women of the United States, 1888-1898*. Boston, Mass.: E. B. Stillings & Co. (Susan B. Anthony Collection, Library of Congress.)

**** SHAW, G. BERNARD. [*The Quintessence of Ibsenism*. Boston: Benjamin R. Tucker. (Library of Congress.) 80c.] Chap. III. (pp. 32-47). *The Womanly Woman*.

Too many advocates of woman suffrage insist that when woman is enfranchised she will be no less "womanly" than before, whereas in point of fact perhaps the chief thing to be said for the suffrage is precisely that it will make woman less womanly, in the commonly accepted sense of the term. For the development of woman as a human being will inevitably cause many of the qualities that have hitherto differentiated her from man to occupy a smaller relative place in her being. One cannot argue logically on woman suffrage without facing this fact. The great merit of this essay is that it does face it frankly. For example, instead of impotently maintaining that woman's love of self-sacrifice is innate and ineradicable, Mr. Shaw proclaims that it is at present hypertrophied, and that woman's emancipation will reduce it to a more normal size. Then he goes on to prove that this will be a good thing. "The truth is that in real life a self-sacrificing woman, or, as Mr. Stead would put it, a womanly woman, is not only taken advantage of, but disliked as well for her pains. . . . No one ever feels helpless by the side of the self-helper; whilst the self-sacrificer is always a drag, a responsibility, a reproach, an everlasting and unnatural trouble with whom no really strong soul can live." "The woman may indeed mask her iconoclasm by proving, in rationalist fashion, as man has often done for the sake of a quiet life, that all these discarded idealist conceptions will be fortified instead of shattered by her emancipation. To a person with a turn

for logic, such proofs are as easy as playing the piano is to Paderewski. But it will not be true. A whole basketful of ideals of the most sacred quality will be smashed by the achievement of equality for women and men."

1892

- * BALFOUR, ARTHUR J., M. P. *Speech in support of the Parliamentary Franchise Extension to Women Bill*, in the House of Commons, April 27, 1892. Westminster: National Society for Women's Suffrage. 7 pp. Boston Public Library.

COURTNEY, LEONARD, M. P. *Speech in the House of Commons on Women's Suffrage*. London: Central National Society for Women's Suffrage. 4 pp. (Susan B. Anthony Collection, Library of Congress.)

The speech points out the need of women inspectors for the textile factories, in which most of the workers are women.

- * FAWCETT, MILLICENT GARRETT. *A Reply to the Letter of Mr. Samuel Smith, M. P.* Westminster: Central Committee of the National Society for Women's Suffrage. 11 pp. (Boston Public Library.)

Chiefly an account of the injustice with which women are treated by English law.

- *** HIGGINSON, THOMAS WENTWORTH. *Concerning All of Us*. New York: Harper & Bros. 326 pp. \$.80. (Library of Congress.)

Many of these very charming essays have to do with the woman question. Especially good are: IV. *The Lilliputian Theory of Woman*; VI. *The Merely Conventional*; XIV. *The Habit of Prostration*; XVIII. *The Advantages*

of Reasonable Expectations; XX. Of Interest to Women; XXIV. On the Desire of Women to be Individuals; XXV. The Pleasing Art of Self-Extinction; XXVI. Told off from the Human Race.

JEBB, Sir RICHARD CLAVERHOUSE, M. P. *Speech at the Annual Meeting of the Central Committee of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, May 31, 1892.* 4 pp. (Boston Public Library.)

PELLEW, GEORGE. *Woman and the Commonwealth; or, A Question of Expediency.* Cambridge: The Riverside Press. 38 pp. (Library of Congress.)

Sensible, but not spirited or original.

* ROLLIT, Sir ALBERT KAYE. *Speech in moving the Extension of the Parliamentary Franchise to Women Bill, in the House of Commons, April 27, 1892.* Westminster: Central Committee of the National Society for Women's Suffrage. 16 pp. (Boston Public Library.)

A very good speech, but it is largely a discussion of the terms of this particular bill.

*** WOODALL, WILLIAM. *Speech in the House of Commons on Women's Suffrage, 1892.* London: Central National Society for Women's Suffrage. 4 pp. (Susan B. Anthony Collection, Library of Congress.)

This speech is especially good in refuting the argument that because many women do not want to vote, no women should be allowed to vote. The same sort of argument was used in the case of slaves and in that of agricultural laborers.

**** WYNDHAM, GEORGE, M. P. *Speech in the House of Commons on Women's Suffrage, 1892.* London: Cen-

tral National Society for Women's Suffrage. 3 pp.
(S. B. Anthony Collection, Library of Congress.)

Forcible and witty, especially in ridiculing the physical force argument.

1893

CAMPBELL, HELEN. *Women Wage-earners: Their Past, their Present, and their Future.* With an introduction by Richard T. Ely, Ph.D., LL.D. Boston: Roberts Bros. 213 pp. (Library of Congress.)

A discussion of the inequality between men's and women's wages (with statistics), and of the bad results of this inequality.

GAGE, MATILDA JOSLYN. *Woman, Church and State: A Historical Account of the Status of Woman through the Christian Ages: with Reminiscences of the Matriarchate.* New York: The Truth Seeker Co. 554 pp. (Library of Congress.)

Fanatical and solemn without impressiveness; an uncompromising and unpersuasive attack on church and state—especially church—for their attitude towards woman.

** JONES, J. V. *The Enfranchisement of Women.* A speech delivered at a meeting of the Central National Society for Women's Suffrage. London: Women's Printing Society. 10 pp. (Susan B. Anthony Collection, Library of Congress.)

This speech exposes the "fallacy of assuming that unlikeness for certain purposes means unlikeness for others." "We are so apt to identify nature with our idea of it, and to receive a rude awakening."

- * OSTROGORSKI, M. *The Rights of Women: A Comparative Study in History and Legislation.* London: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co.; New York: Charles Scribner & Sons. 232 pp. (Library of Congress.)

A study of "every class of political and public rights [of women], from the exercise of the highest power in the state down to the humblest civic functions." The book contains no arguments on either side, but it is convenient for reference.

PATMORE, COVENTRY. [*Religio Poetae*, etc. London: George Bell & Sons. (Library of Congress.)] *The Weaker Vessel* (pp. 154-165).

In these days of hedgings, it is gratifying to find a reactionary who is really not afraid to hold his ground. The suffragists now-a-days suffer from having nothing to attack but bundles of contradictions. It is well to be reminded of what is the only consistent and stable position that can be held by anti-suffragists—a position that the world is bound in self-respect to revert to, if it does not move onward towards frank equality of the sexes. It would be hard to find a more startling reminder than this charming essay, written in all seriousness no longer ago than 1893—and by one of the leading men of letters in England. "The happiest result of the 'higher education' of woman cannot fail to consist in the rendering of her weakness more and more daintily conspicuous." "Most of the failures in marriage come of the man's not having manhood enough to assert the prerogatives which it is the woman's more or less secret delight to acknowledge. She knows her place, but does not know how to keep it unless he knows it also; and many an otherwise amiable woman grows restless and irritable under the insupportable doubt as to whether she has got her master." "The vanity

of a woman need not derogate from that sense of comparative nothingness which is to herself the sweetest part of the offering of her affection. Indeed, her vanity may be based upon this sense of her smallness; as knowing that this is the source of her attractiveness." At the end he grows more solemn, even oracular. "Now it is high time that it should be plainly declared that there are few more damnable heresies than the doctrine of the equality of man and woman." "She has not the strength for, or indeed the knowledge of, true virtue and grace of character, unless she is helped to that knowledge and strength by the man." But all the other pronouncements are weak compared with this: "In the infinite distance between God and man, theologians find the secret of the infinite felicity of divine love; and the incomparable happiness of love between the sexes is similarly founded upon their inequality."

WARD, LESTER F. [*The Psychic Factors of Civilisation*. Boston: Ginn & Co. Second edition. 1906. (Library of Congress.) First published 1893.] Part II., Chap. XXVI. (pp. 174-180). *Female Intuition*.

The author maintains that female intuition has been as important a factor in the growth of civilisation as has man's reason. But his own scientific explanation of the origin and nature of female intuition makes one hesitate to accept this view. "The dangers that have threatened woman and her helpless charges throughout all history have usually left her no time for these slower mental operations. She must act at once or all is lost." In what way is this faculty of forming hasty judgments and acting upon them conducive to the progress of civilisation? It was, of course, a necessary means of protection for the individual woman; but would not the world have progressed faster if she *had* had time for "the slower mental operations"?

WILSON, Ven. J. M., Archdeacon of Manchester. *A Speech delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Manchester Society for Women's Suffrage*, on November 29, 1893. Manchester: National Society for Women's Suffrage. 1894. 10 pp. (Boston Public Library.)

A Brief History of the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Association, during twenty-four years, from 1868 to 1893. Providence, R. I.: E. L. Freeman & Son. 20 pp. (Astor Library.)

1894

GAMBLE, ELIZA BURT. *The Evolution of Woman: An Inquiry into the Dogma of her Inferiority to Man*. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 356 pp. (Library of Congress.)

An unscientific sociological study. The writer has strange ideas of logic. "Woman's rapid perceptions, and her intuitions, which in many instances amount almost to second sight, indicate undeveloped genius, and partake largely of the nature of deductive reasoning; it is reasonable to suppose, therefore, that as soon as she is free, and has for a few generations enjoyed the advantages of more natural methods of education and training, and those better suited to the female constitution, she will be able to trace the various processes of induction by which she reaches her conclusions."

GREY, Sir GEORGE. *Speech at the Annual Meeting of the Central Committee of the National Society for Women's Suffrage*, July 6, 1894. Westminster: Central Committee [etc.]. 3 pp. (Boston Public Library.)

Not good.

- ***** JACOBI, DR. MARY PUTNAM. "*Common Sense*" applied to Woman Suffrage; A Statement of the Reasons which Justify the Demand to Extend the Suffrage to Women, with Consideration of the Arguments against such Enfranchisement, and with special reference to the Issues presented to the New York State Convention of 1894. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 50c. 236 pp. (Library of Congress.)

The best chapters are: I. Introductory; II. Evolution of the Status of Women since 1848; V. Arguments of Opponents [especially Goldwin Smith]; IX. The Existing Situation. Dr. Jacobi's speech at the New York State Constitutional Convention of 1894 is given in the appendix. This is good, but not as good as the main part of the book. It has not the distinctive quality of a speech.

- * REPPLIER, AGNES. [In the Dozy Hours. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. (Library of Congress.)] *Aut Caesar aut nihil* (pp. 60-75).

The thesis is that women's work should be judged by the same standards as men's. "This is what we women are doing with such apparent satisfaction; we are encouraging one another in mediocrity. We are putting up easy standards of our own, in place of the best standards of men. We are sating our vanity with small and ignoble triumphs, instead of struggling on, defeated, routed, but unconquered still, with hopes high set upon the dazzling mountain-tops which we may never reach."

- STOPES, CHARLOTTE CARMICHAEL. *British Freewomen; Their Historical Privilege*. London: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co. 196 pp. (Susan B. Anthony Collection, Library of Congress.)

The main argument is that a recognition of the existence of women in the state would be in accordance with the

fundamental principles of the English Constitution. Until the seventeenth century, women in England could be members of guilds, could be free of the City of London, could be on the corporation, and could vote for members of parliament. The book contains much interesting information. The best chapters are: II. The Modern Bases of Privilege; VI. Freewomen; VIII. The Turn of the Tide.

- ** 1894.** *Constitutional-Amendment Campaign Year.* Report of the New York State Woman Suffrage Association. Twenty-sixth annual convention, Ithaca, N. Y., November 12-15. Part I. The Constitutional Convention. Rochester, N. Y.: Charles Mann. 1895. 132 pp. (Library of Congress.)

The report consists chiefly of copious extracts from speeches made in behalf of the woman suffrage amendment at the New York Constitutional Convention of 1894.

I. (pp. 17-70) Addresses before the committee at the New York City hearing and the state hearing. Almost all the addresses are good—much better than most of the speeches before the United States Congress committees. The best is by Dr. Mary Putnam Jacobi (reprinted in full in her *Common Sense applied to Woman Suffrage*). The other speakers lay too much stress upon the “protection of the home” argument, which is constantly repeated.

II. (pp. 71-132) Extracts from the speeches made in the Constitutional Convention. The best are by ****Mr. Lauterbach** (pp. 71-84; especially good on p. 73, where he points out that one good effect of the ballot would be to make women more democratic); Mr. Bigelow (pp. 100-107; on corrupt voting); ***Mr. Church** (pp. 112-114; it is only the last paragraph that is particularly good).

III. (pp. 123-132) Extracts from the three-minute speeches made when the vote was being taken. The best is by Mr. J. A. Barhite (p. 123).

1895

BLOOMER, AMELIA. [*Life and Writings of Amelia Bloomer*. By D. C. Bloomer. Boston: Arena Publishing Co. (Boston Public Library.)] Objections to Woman Suffrage Answered (pp. 263-273); Women's Right to the Ballot (pp. 235-255); A Reply (pp. 355-375).

The date of the *Reply* is 1871; the other dates are not given. The articles are good, but contain no unusual arguments. The claims made for what women will do with the ballot are rather extravagant.

- * FEELER, FELIX (Rev. L. E. Keith). *Female Philosophy, Fished out and Fried*. Callowell, Ohio. (Library of Congress.)

"This volume contains all the objections to woman suffrage, their ANSWERS, and the CREAM of all that has been said and written on the subject from Moses and Plato down to Paul and 'Josiah Allen's Wife.' " The book is vulgar (though not as vulgar as the title), but extremely amusing. Every chapter would make a very effective stump speech. "Is a woman more unwomanly in protecting her children than a hen is unhenly in protecting her chicks?" "Yours truly, until the American Eagle can fly with both wings," etc.

GOUGAR, HELEN M. *The Constitutional Rights of the Women of Indiana: An Argument in the Superior Court of Tippecanoe County, Ind., Judge F. B. Everett presiding. January 10, 1895.* 57 pp. (New York Public Library.)

STANTON, THEODORE. *The Woman Question in Europe: A Series of Original Essays. With an Introduction by Frances Power Cobbe.* Syracuse, N. Y.: C. W. Bardeen. 472 pp. (Library of Congress.)

A chapter is given to each of the sixteen chief countries of Europe. The book is well edited, and as interesting as one can expect such a book to be.

Opinions of Leaders of Religious Thought on Women's Suffrage. Westminster: Central Committee of the National Society for Women's Suffrage. (Susan B. Anthony Collection, Library of Congress.)

These are short sayings (most of them only one sentence long) by clergymen in favor of woman suffrage. The purpose of the collection is to remove the "fear that the Women's Suffrage movement is not consonant with the religious aspect of women's work and duty."

1896

CARPENTER, EDWARD. [*Love's Coming of Age: A Series of Papers on the Relations of the Sexes. Second edition. Manchester: Labor Press. (Library of Congress.)*] *Woman in Freedom* (pp. 53-71).

Written from the standpoint of an extreme socialist. Some good points are made, but the essay as a whole would certainly antagonise most readers.

COLLINS, MAY. *A Plea for the New Woman.* New York: The Truth Seeker Co. (Susan B. Anthony Collection, Library of Congress.)

Too much fine writing.

LECKY, WILLIAM EDWARD HARTPOLE. [*Democracy and Liberty*. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 2 vols. (Library of Congress.)] Vol. II., Chap. X. *Woman Questions*.

A discussion of woman's political and economic status. The attitude is favorable to woman suffrage, though not attributing great importance to it. Some of the objections are well met. "Can any one suppose that voting for members of Parliament is a more unfeminine thing than canvassing for them, more fatal to the beauty of the female character than voting for a county councillor, or a poor-law guardian, or a member of the school-board?" (p. 549.)

- ** REEVES, W. P., and J. A. COCKBURN. *The Working of Women's Suffrage in New Zealand and South Australia*; speeches by Hon. W. P. Reeves, agent general for New Zealand, and Hon. J. A. Cockburn, agent general for South Australia. Westminster: National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. (Susan B. Anthony Collection, Library of Congress.)

These speakers show how good the effect of woman suffrage has been in New Zealand and South Australia, both upon the government and upon the women.

- * RUSSELL, ALYS. *Social Democracy and the Woman Question in Germany*. Appendix (pp. 175-195) in *German Social Democracy; six lectures by Bertrand Russell*. London: Longmans, Green & Co. (Boston Public Library.)

A very interesting essay. It is in large part a criticism (pp. 178-187) of Bebel's *Die Frau und der Sozialismus*.

National Society for Women's Suffrage. Central Committee. Speeches made at the General Annual Meeting, Westminster Town Hall, July 2, 1896. 11 pp. (Boston Public Library.)

- * *Parliamentary Echoes*. Extracts from Speeches on Women's Suffrage in the House of Commons. Westminster: National Society for Women's Suffrage; Central Committee. 32 pp. (Boston Public Library.)

This book gives thirty effective extracts from speeches made between 1866 and 1892.

1897

- *** BELLAMY, EDWARD. [*Equality*. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$1.00. (Library of Congress.)] Chaps. XIX., XX., and XXI. (pp. 124-153).

- *** Chap. XIX. "*Can a Maid Forget her Ornaments?*" This chapter is especially interesting in connection with Veblen's *Theory of the Leisure Class*. In the Utopia imagined by Mr. Bellamy, "conspicuous waste" is no longer a canon, and even the women do not confound expensiveness with beauty.

Chap. XX. *What the Revolution did for Women*. Somewhat too radical, perhaps, for general approval.

- *** Chap. XXI. *At the Gymnasium*. This chapter contains an interesting theory of the original cause of the subjection of women (pp. 151-152).

FABRE, AUGUSTE. *Le Féminisme: ses origines et son avenir*. Nîmes: Imprimerie veuve Laporte. 71 pp. (Library of Congress.)

I. *Considérations préliminaires*. Contrasts the past with the present position of women.

II. *Réformes économiques*. Contains an account of Elizabeth Blackwell's struggles and success.

III. *Réformes civiles*.

IV. *Réformes politiques*. An account of the American movement especially, with quotations from Thayer and Hoyt of Wyoming.

V. *Conclusions*. General arguments in favor of complete equality of the sexes.

The book is of value to us especially as showing that America is expected to take the lead in woman's progress.

LACOUR, LÉOPOLD. *Humanisme intégral: Le duel des sexes;—La cité future*. Paris: P.-V. Stock. 360 pp. (Library of Congress.)

The first half of the book is an analysis of the causes of the "*duel des sexes*." The ideas are much the same as those of Olive Schreiner in *The Story of an African Farm*, from which M. Lacour often quotes. But he goes even farther than Olive Schreiner in his disgust at the present condition of woman—her subjection to man's selfish passions. And in the second part of the book—"La cité future"—he again takes an extreme view of the importance of woman's emancipation in bringing about a complete social and economic reconstruction—or rather, as he puts it, revolution. The book is interesting, but it is both too plain-spoken and too idealistic to appeal to American readers.

- * PEARSON, KARL. [*The Chances of Death*, and other Studies in Evolution. 2 vols. London and New York: Edward Arnold. 1897. (Library of Congress.) Vol. I., Chap. VII. (pp. 226-255).] *Woman and Labor*.

The essay is chiefly an argument in favor of national insurance against motherhood, the object being that women may never have to choose between industry and marriage. "The home, whether we approve of it or not, has ceased for

ever to be the sole field of woman's activity." "The woman of the future will demand such conditions for her labor as shall practically handicap the competition of the unmarried with the married woman, and of man with woman. The justification for this will . . . be simply based upon the recognition that woman's child-bearing activity is essentially part of her contribution to social needs; that it ought to be acknowledged as such by the state."

- ** REPPLIER, AGNES. [*Varia*. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. (Library of Congress.)] *The Eternal Feminine* (pp. 1-29).

An amusing and telling essay on the theme that women are "held to blame for such widely divergent desires." "At the same time that Froude was writing . . . that it is the part of man to act and labor, while women are merely bound by 'the negative obedience to prohibitory precepts'; or, in other words, that there is nothing in the world which they ought to do, but plenty which they ought to refrain from doing, Stevenson was insisting . . . that it is precisely this contentment with prohibitory precepts, this deadening passivity of the female heart, which 'narrows and damps the spirits of generous men,' so that in marriage a man becomes slack and selfish, 'and undergoes a fatty degeneration of his moral being.' " Miss Repplier says that in whatever way the very vague quality of "true" womanliness is conceived, "it is always the great-grandmothers in whom is embodied the last meritoriousness of the sex; always the great-grandmothers for whom is cherished this pensive masculine regard."

- * STACY, ENID. *A Century of Women's Rights*. [Forecasts of the Coming Century, by a decade of writers. Edited by Edward Carpenter. London: Walter Scott, Limited;

The *Clarion* Office; Manchester: The Labor Press, Limited. (Library of Congress.) pp. 86-101.]

The writer points out how, in accordance with the general development of thought in the later nineteenth century, the advocates of woman suffrage have come to lay chief stress, not on the question of individual rights, but on the question of social duties. This is an interesting point, and one not often made.

1898

BLACKBURN, HELEN. *Women's Suffrage in the Light of the Second Reading of 1897*. London: Williams & Norgate. 20 pp. (Susan B. Anthony Collection, Library of Congress.)

** FAWCETT, MILLICENT GARRETT, and C. W. RADCLIFFE COOKE, M. P. *Women's Suffrage in Parliament*. Reprinted from the *Outlook*. Westminster: National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. 1898. 11 pp. (Boston Public Library.)

This pamphlet consists of an article by Mrs. Fawcett, a reply from Mr. Cooke, and a reply to him from Mrs. Fawcett. The whole makes interesting reading, especially since the last part of Mr. Cooke's article is an uncommonly good anti-suffrage argument. It is interesting, by the way, in view of the rapid change in sentiment that has since taken place, to note this sentence of his supercilious introduction: "The House is familiar with his [Mr. Labouchère's] gift of humor, and will not on such a theme be defrauded of its laugh; for, sad as the fact may be, the House of Commons declines to regard women's suffrage in a grave light."

***** GILMAN, CHARLOTTE PERKINS [STETSON]. *In this our World*. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. \$1.00. 184 pp. (Library of Congress.)

The poems on woman run from page 125 to page 174. They are all very effective and very amusing; especially

good as arguments are: *Mother to Child* (p. 140); *The Anti-Suffragists* (p. 152); *Women do not Want it* (p. 166); *A Brood Mare* (p. 161). There are also three excellent parables that particularly fit the case of woman suffrage—*Similar Cases* (p. 95); *A Conservative* (p. 100); *An Obstacle* (p. 102).

***** GILMAN, CHARLOTTE PERKINS [STETSON]. *Women and Economics: A Study of the Economic Relation between Men and Women as a Factor in Social Evolution.* Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. 1898. 340 pp. (Library of Congress.)

This and Mill's *Subjection of Women* are the two epoch-making books on the woman question. They are alike remarkable for combining very bold and far-reaching theories with very firm and close construction. Mrs. Gilman, after establishing the fact that woman is economically dependent upon the sex-relation, traces the processes by which this dependence has affected society in all its phases—physical, ethical, intellectual, industrial, aesthetic. "Man, in supporting woman, has become her economic environment. Under natural selection, every creature is modified to its environment, developing perforce the qualities needed to obtain its livelihood under that environment . . . Under sexual selection the human creature is of course modified to its mate, as with all creatures. When economic necessity is added to sex attraction, we have the two great evolutionary forces acting together to the same end; namely, to develop sex-distinction in the human female." "Parasitic creatures, whose living is obtained by the exertions of others, develop powers of absorption and of tenacity,—the powers by which they profit most. The human female was cut off from the direct action of natural selection, that mighty force which heretofore had acted on male and female alike with inexorable and beneficial effect, developing strength, developing skill, developing

endurance, developing courage,—in a word, developing species. She now met the influence of natural selection acting indirectly through the male, and developing, of course, the faculties required to secure and obtain a hold on him."

"So far as the human male competes freely with his peers in higher and higher activities, and the female chooses the winner, so far we are directly benefited [by sexual selection]. But there is a radical distinction between sex-competition and marriage by purchase. In the first, the male succeeds by virtue of what he can do; in the second, by virtue of what he can get. The increased power to do, transmitted to the young, is of racial advantage. But mere possessions, with no question as to the method of their acquisition, are not necessarily of advantage to the individual as a father."

In the ninth chapter there is an admirable refutation of the doctrine of "maternal sacrifice," with its supposed benefits to the race. A visitor from another planet is imagined viewing "with intense and pathetic interest the endless procession of girls, born human as their brothers are, but marked down at once as 'female—abortive type—only use to produce males.' " We then picture his surprise on finding out how little preparation is made for this sacred office for which women are supposed to be told off, and how ineffectively it is performed. "Giving all their time to it does not improve it either in quantity or in quality. The woman who works is usually a better reproducer than the woman who does not."

The latter part of the book is an argument, both from the practical and from the sentimental standpoint, for the organisation of household industries. "Is it not time that the way to a man's heart through his stomach should be relinquished for some higher avenue?" "There is no cause for alarm. We are not going to lose our homes nor our families, nor any of the sweetness and happiness that go

with them.' But we are going to lose our kitchens, as we have lost our laundries and bakeries."

HEYSE, PAUL. *Martha's Briefe an Maria*; Ein Beitrag zur Frauenbewegung, mit einem Vor- und Nachwort. Der Ertrag ist für das in München zu gründende Mädchengymnasium bestimmt. Zweite Auflage. Stuttgart. 1898. Verlag der Cotta'schen Buchhandlung. 80 pp. (Library of Congress.)

Though in the form of letters, this is really a general plea for women's higher education, and for women's being given equal opportunities with men in entering professions (especially medicine).

ICHENHAEUSER, ELIZA. *Die politische Gleichberechtigung der Frau*. Berlin: Carl Duncker. 88 pp. (New York Public Library.)

Chiefly a history of the question, designed to pave the way for propaganda.

KING, DELLA ROBINSON. *Thoughts of a Thoughtful Woman*. Scotland, S. D.: Messenger Office. 50 pp. (Library of Congress.)

Disconnected arguments for woman suffrage are thrown at the reader in anything but a conciliatory manner.

RAUSCHENBUSCH-CLOUGH, EMMA, Ph.D. *A Study of Mary Wollstonecraft and the Rights of Woman*. London, New York and Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co. 234 pp. (Library of Congress.)

The subject keeps this book from being quite dull.

SCHIRMACHER, KAETHE. *Le Féminisme aux Etats-Unis, en France, dans la Grande-Bretagne, en Suède et en Russie*. Paris: Armand Colin et Cie. 73 pp. (New York Public Library.)

- * STANTON, ELIZABETH CADY. *Eighty Years and More* (1815-1897): Reminiscences of Elizabeth Cady Stanton. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 474 pp. (Columbia Library.)

Much more readable than the *History of Woman Suffrage*. There is little or no argument, but many people are won over to a cause through interest in the personality of its leaders.

There is an amusing passage on page 120. Mrs. Stanton has treated her baby in disobedience to the doctors' orders—with successful results. "Well, after all," says one of the doctors, "a mother's instinct is better than a man's reason." "Thank you, gentlemen, there was no instinct about it. I did some hard thinking before I saw how I could get a pressure on the shoulder without impeding the circulation as you did." (An interesting anticipation of Mrs. Gilman's advice to mothers with regard to reason and instinct.)

Galatea Collection of Books relating to the History of Woman.
[Boston. Public Library. Monthly Bulletin. 1898.
34 pp.] (Library of Congress.)

Catalogue of the collection of about eleven hundred volumes presented to the library by Thomas Wentworth Higginson.

1899

- ** ABERDEEN, Countess of (editor). *Women in Politics.*
Being the political section of the International Council of Women, London, July, 1899. London: T. F. Unwin. 1900. (Library of Congress.)

Most of the speeches reported have to do with the position of women in different countries. The last ones, however, (pp. 115-141) are arguments for women's enfranchisement.

They are good (especially the first, by Mrs. Fawcett), but not notable.

MORTEN, HONNOR. *Questions for Women (and Men)*.

With an introduction by Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D.

London: Adam & Charles Black. 123 pp. (Library of Congress.)

Chapter V., on *Woman's Place in Public Work*, is in part an argument for woman suffrage. The chapter contains at least one bad fallacy—"Obviously if *all* women did their share of this world's work, there would be no need for the seamstress to slave for sixteen hours at a stretch; there would be no starvation among the poor and no hysteria among the rich." No hysteria among the rich, perhaps, but certainly the starvation of seamstresses would not be prevented by the mere fact of all women's working.

***** VEBLEN, THORSTEIN. *The Theory of the Leisure Class; An Economic Study in the Evolution of Institutions*.
New York and London: The Macmillan Co. 400 pp.
\$.50. (Library of Congress.)

Nothing is said about woman suffrage, but every chapter strengthens the cause by shattering the foundations of the strongest objections. After reading Veblen it would be hard to take seriously the current fictions about the home and woman's place there, and the general horror of woman's engaging in the ordinary pursuits of the world of men. Veblen's theory as it affects women is expressed chiefly in:

Chap. III. Conspicuous Leisure.

Chap. IV. Conspicuous Consumption.

Chap. VII. Dress as an Expression of the Pecuniary Culture.

"In this lower middle class there is no pretence of leisure on the part of the head of the household. . . . But the

middle class wife still carries on the business of vicarious leisure, for the good name of the household and its master." (p. 81.) "The requirement of conspicuous consumption at the hands of the wife continues in force even at a lower point in the pecuniary scale than the requirement of vicarious leisure. At a point below which little if any pretence of wasted effort, in ceremonial cleanness and the like, is observable, and where there is assuredly no conscious attempt at ostensible leisure, decency still requires the wife to consume some goods conspicuously for the reputability of the household and its head. So that as the latter-day outcome of this evolution of an archaic institution, the wife, who was at the outset the drudge and chattel of the man, both in fact and in theory,—the producer of goods for him to consume,—has become the ceremonial consumer of goods which he produces. But she still quite unmistakably remains his chattel in theory; for the habitual rendering of vicarious leisure is the abiding mark of the unfree servant." (p. 83.)

Report of the Women's Local Government Society for Promoting the Eligibility of Women to Elect and to Serve on all Local Governing Bodies. Presented at the Sixth Annual Meeting, 1899. London: Burt & Sons. (Susan B. Anthony Collection, Library of Congress.)

Speeches at a Great Meeting in Support of the Political Enfranchisement of Women, held at Queen's Hall, Langham Place, London, on June 29, 1899. Published by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. 26 pp. (New York Public Library.)

The speeches (among them one by Mrs. Fawcett and one by Miss Anthony) are good, but deal almost entirely with the progress and prospects of the cause.

1900

CATT, CARRIE CHAPMAN (editor). *Woman's Century Calendar*. New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association. 1900. (New York Public Library.)

The various steps of progress made in the movement during the nineteenth century are recorded under the separate years, and at the end there is a summary of *The Gains of the Century*. The book is good of its kind, but its lack of continuity makes it hard to read.

- * GERRITSEN, C. V. and A. H. J. *La femme et le féminisme*: collection de livres, périodiques, etc., sur la condition sociale de la femme et le mouvement féministe. Faisant partie de la bibliothèque de M. et Mme. C. V. Gerritsen (Dr. Aletta H. Jacobs) à Amsterdam. 343 pp. Paris: V. Giard & E. Brière. (Library of Congress.)

A very notable collection of books in all languages, treating the woman question from every aspect. There is a full index of the books and authors represented in the library.

- ** GILMAN, CHARLOTTE PERKINS. [*Concerning Children*. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. \$1.00. (Library of Congress.)] Chap. XV. (pp. 278-298). *Social Parentage*.

The need of organised social effort in the care of children is brought out most strongly in this chapter. There is no direct mention of woman suffrage, but the concerted action which is shown to be needed would obviously be ineffective without the suffrage. "The idea that if each takes care of her own, all will be cared for, is as false for women as it is for men. . . . Our fatherhood is to a considerable degree socialised. Our motherhood is flatly anarchistic, refusing all coordination." (p. 285.)

***** HIGGINSON, THOMAS WENTWORTH. *Women and the Alphabet*. New York: Houghton-Mifflin Co. 360 pp. \$2.00. (Library of Congress.)

The first essay, *Ought Women to Learn the Alphabet?* (reprinted from the *Atlantic Monthly* for February, 1859), is by far the best part of the book. The rest is a reprint of *Common Sense about Women*, q. v., page 54.

"Ought women to learn the alphabet? There the whole question lies. Concede this little fulcrum, and Archimedeia will move the world before she has done with it; it becomes merely a question of time. Resistance must be made here or nowhere. *Obsta principiis*. Woman must be a subject or an equal; there is no middle ground." Then, after citing a number of amusing proverbs and legends about women, Mr. Higginson shows how women's inferiority in special achievements may be easily accounted for as a corollary from her historic position of degradation. "If contempt does not originally cause failure, it perpetuates it. Systematically discourage any individual or class, from birth to death, and they learn, in nine cases out of ten, to acquiesce in their degradation, if not to claim it as a crown of glory. If the Abbé Choiseul praised the Duchesse de Fontanges for being 'beautiful as an angel and silly as a goose,' it was natural that all the young ladies of the court should resolve to make up in folly what they wanted in charms."

The ridicule of the arguments about the "natures" of man and woman is delicious. "Most persons have so little faith in the distinctions which Nature has established, that they think, if you teach the alphabet, or anything else, indiscriminately to both sexes, you annul all difference between them. The common reasoning is thus: 'Boys and girls are acknowledged to be distinct beings. Now boys study Greek and algebra, medicine and book-keeping. Therefore girls should not.' As if one should say:

'Boys and girls are distinct beings. Now boys eat beef and potatoes. Therefore, obviously, girls should not.' " "It is an alarming feature of this discussion, that it has reversed, very generally, the traditional positions of the sexes: the women have had all the logic; and the most intelligent men, when they have attempted the other side, have limited themselves to satire and gossip. . . . Some persons think it impossible to reason with a woman, and they certainly show no disposition to try the experiment."

- * LACOUR, LÉOPOLD. *Les origines du féminisme contemporain; trois femmes de la révolution*: Olympe de Gouges; Théroigne de Méricourt; Rose Lacombe. Paris: Librairie Plon, Plon-Nourrit et Cie. 432 pp. (Library of Congress.)

A very interesting account of the lives of these three pioneers of the cause of sex equality. This is an important part of the history of the question, since it shows the movement to have originated, not, as some people seem to think, in abnormal self-assertiveness on the part of women, but as part of the general movement for the "rights of man." The author of this book says of Olympe de Gouges: "La politique ne borne point sa pensée: l'idée totale de justice l'enivre, puisqu'elle construit sur le *droit humain*, non sur celui d'un sexe, la cité fatidique."

- VALLANCE, ZONA. *Women as Citizens*. [Ethical Democracy: Essays in Social Dynamics. Edited by Stanton Coit. London: Richards. (Boston Public Library.) pp. 128-162.]

An essay on women's "sociological mission"—which is, the writer says, "to make a dynamical contribution intelligently based on their womanhood." The ideal she sets before them is that they shall "assist the fatherhood in men to make the law of the family the law of the state." The

ideas are veiled in deep obscurity, nor do they in the end reward the reader for his pains.

1901

- ** BAYLES, GEORGE JAMES. *Woman and the Law*. With an introduction by Professor I. F. Russell. New York: The Century Co. \$1.40. 267 pp. (Library of Congress.)

.. Convenient statement of the legal condition of the women of the United States. The book is divided into three parts: *Domestic Relations; Property Relations; Public Relations*.

BRAUN, LILY. *Die Frauenfrage: Ihre geschichtliche Entwicklung und wirtschaftliche Seite*. Leipzig: S. Hirzel. 557 pp. (Library of Congress.)

A treatment of the woman question from the socialist standpoint. It is especially interesting as showing how closely the two movements are bound together in Germany. Another salient feature of the German movement is the very active effort of the working-women to improve general labor conditions. This is brought out especially in Chapter VII. —*Die Arbeiterinnenbewegung*.

Manual of Woman Suffrage Principles. New York State Woman Suffrage Association. Syracuse, N. Y. (New York Public Library.)

✓ The manual is in the form of a primer, with numbered questions and answers. The first nine chapters deal with discrimination against women (in education, industrial and commercial employments, teaching, medicine, law, ministry). The tenth chapter is on *The Absolute Necessity of Woman Suffrage*.

1902

- * BLACKBURN, HELEN. *Women's Suffrage: A Record of the Women's Suffrage Movement in the British Isles, with biographical sketches of Miss Becker.* London: Williams & Norgate. 298 pp. (Boston Public Library.)

This is an excellent book of its kind, but the quiet progress of the cause in England before the suffragette period does not furnish material for a history of great general interest. Unlike the American movement, which had its origin in the anti-slavery agitation, the English movement does not connect itself closely with other events of importance.

There are some interesting quotations, especially in the first two chapters, and there is a bibliography of twenty pages.

- COLLETT, CLARA E. *Educated Working Women; Essays on the Economic Position of Women Workers in the Middle Classes.* London: P. S. King & Son. 143 pp. (Library of Congress.)

The first two essays—*The Economic Position of Educated Working Women* and *Prospects of Marriage for Women*—show the necessity for women's engaging in self-supporting work on the chance of their not marrying. But in the essay on *Mrs. Stetson's Economic Ideal* the writer contends against the idea that women's work after marriage should be specialised and not necessarily domestic. The logic of the arguments is often far from sound.

- STANTON, ELIZABETH CADY, SUSAN B. ANTHONY, MATILDA JOSLYN GAGE, and IDA HUSTED HARPER. *History of Woman Suffrage.* Vols. I., II., and III. by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joslyn Gage. Vol. IV. by Susan B. Anthony and Ida Husted Harper. Vol. I. (1848-1861), New York: Fowler & Wells; 1881. Vol. II. (1861-1876),

New York: Fowler & Wells; 1882. Vol. III. (1876-1885), published by Susan B. Anthony; Rochester, N. Y.: Charles Mann; 1887. Vol. IV. (1883-1900), published by Susan B. Anthony, 1902. (Library of Congress.)

The good index makes the history useful for reference. In the appendix to Vol. III. (p. 957) there is quoted a very good article by John Hooker—*Is the Family the Basis of the State?*

TURGEON, CHARLES, professeur d'économie politique à la faculté de droit de l'université de Rennes. *Le Féminisme français*. Paris: Librairie de la Société du Recueil général des Lois et des Arrêts; L. Larose et Forcel. 2 vols. (Library of Congress.)

Vol. I.—*L'Emancipation individuelle et sociale de la femme*. Vol. II.—*L'Emancipation politique et familiale de la femme*. The woman question is treated chiefly from the sociological standpoint. No very definite conclusions are reached; the book is rather a discussion and a survey of the field than an argument for either side. The author seems in favor of a moderate *féminisme*. At the end there is a list of books on the subject (mostly French), written in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

New South Wales. Copy of the Women's Franchise Act, 1902. Colonial Office, 25 November, 1902. (Presented to Parliament in pursuance of Act 1314 Vict. c. 59. sec. 32.) Ordered, by the House of Commons, to be printed, 26 November, 1902. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode. (New York Public Library.)

Report of the First International Woman Suffrage Conference, held at Washington, U. S. A., February 12-18, 1902, in connection with and by invitation of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. New York:

International Woman Suffrage Headquarters, American Tract Society Building. 125 pp. (Library of Congress.)

The pamphlet contains reports presented by delegates in regard to the condition of women in many countries. The report of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt (pp. 39-45) is more of an argument than most of the other reports. On the whole, the array of facts given in the pamphlet is rather oppressive.

1903

***** GILMAN, CHARLOTTE PERKINS. *The Home; Its Work and its Influence*. New York: McClure, Phillips & Co. \$1.50. 347 pp. (Library of Congress.)

The general purpose of the book is much like that of *Women and Economics*, but *The Home* is more popular in tone, more persuasive and more amusing. There is such a fertility of striking concrete example that the reader can almost draw for himself the proper inferences. Perhaps the best chapters—after the introduction, which is a masterpiece of persuasive writing—are *Domestic Mythology*, *The Home as a Workshop*, *Domestic Ethics*, *The Lady of the House*, *The Girl at Home*, and *Lines of Advance*.

"The permanent error of the housewife lies in that assumption that her love for her family makes her service satisfactory. Family affection has nothing to do with the specialist's skill; nor with the specialist's love of his work for the pleasure of doing it. That is the kind of love that makes good work; and that is the kind of work the world needs and the families within it. Men, specialised, give to their families all that we know of modern comforts, of scientific appliances, of works of art, of the complex necessities and conveniences of modern life. Women, unspecialised, refuse to benefit their families in like proportion; but

offer to them only the grade of service which was proper enough in the Stone Age, but is a historic disgrace to-day.

"A house does not need a wife any more than it does a husband. Are we never to have a man-wife? A really suitable and profitable companion for a man instead of the bond-slave of a house? There is nothing in the work of a house which requires marital or maternal affection. It does require highly developed skill and business sense—but these it fails to get."

"Here are five mothers, equally loving. One is a Hottentot. One is an Eskimo. One is a Hindoo. One is a German peasant woman. One is an American and a successful physician. Which could do most for her children? All might compete on even terms if 'love is enough,' as poets have claimed; but *which could best provide for her children?*" (pp. 100-102.)

"To work for the world at large is necessary to the development of work. A private poet is necessarily ignoble. So is a private cook. . . . There is nothing private and special in the preparation of food. A more general human necessity does not exist. There must be freedom and personal choice in the food prepared, but it no more has to be cooked for you than the books you love best have to be written for you." (p. 115.)

From *Domestic Mythology*: "Somewhat along this line of popular belief comes that pretty fiction about 'the traces of a woman's hand.' It is a minor myth, but very dear to us. We imagine that a woman—any woman—just because she is a woman, has an artistic touch, an aesthetic sense, by means of which she can cure ugliness as kings were supposed to cure scrofula, by the laying on of hands. We find this feelingly alluded to in fiction where some lonely miner, coming to his uncared-for cabin, discovers a flower pot, a birdcage and a tidy, and delightedly proclaims—'A woman has been here.' He thinks it is beautiful because it

is feminine—a sexuo-aesthetic confusion common to all animals.

“When you turn admiring eyes on the work of those who *have* beautified the world for us; on the immortal marbles and mosaics, vessels of gold and glass, on building and carving and modelling and painting, . . . you do not find in the great record of world-beauty such conspicuous traces of a woman’s hand.” (pp. 53-54.)

- *** THOMPSON, HELEN BRADFORD, Ph.D. [*The Mental Traits of Sex: An Experimental Investigation of the Normal mind in Men and Women.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. \$1.25. (Library of Congress.)] Chap. IX. (pp. 169-182.) Conclusion.

This chapter sums up the results of the experiments made (showing the relative motor ability, discriminative ability, thresholds, etc., of men and women). It ends with an interesting and convincing criticism of the “prevailing biological view of the mental differences between the sexes.” “The point to be emphasised as the outcome of this study is that, according to our present light, the psychological differences of sex seem to be largely due, not to difference of average capacity, nor to difference in type of mental activity, but to differences in the social influences brought to bear on the developing individual from early infancy to adult years. The question of the future development of the intellectual life of women is one of social necessities and ideals, rather than of the inborn psychological characteristics of sex.

- * WARD, LESTER F. [*Pure Sociology: A Treatise on the Origin and Spontaneous Development of Society.* New York: The Macmillan Company. London: Mac-

millan & Co. (Library of Congress.)) Part II., Chap. XIV. (pp. 290-416).

This chapter is full of evidences of the writer's advocacy of woman's right to a fair field in the political and economic world. "It would seem that the treatment that woman has received and still receives under the operation of the androcentric world view is amply sufficient of itself to account for all the observed differences between the sexes physically and mentally."

[WOOLSEY, Mrs. KATE TRIMBLE.] *Republics versus Women*; Contrasting the Treatment accorded to Women in Aristocracies with that Meted out to her in Democracies. New York: The Grafton Press. 179 pp. (Library of Congress.)

This book is extremely ill-tempered. From the fact that republics in general (and in particular the United States) are less favorable to women's advancement than are aristocracies and monarchies, the writer concludes that women should work against republics. "Republicanism, instead of being woman's friend, has uniformly opposed all her aspirations; and only to the extent that the belief in democracy has decreased has woman's position therein advanced." If the book has any effect at all, it is necessarily pernicious: either it injures the cause of democracy; or else it arouses suspicion against woman suffrage as an enemy of democracy.

1904

COOLEY, WINNIFRED HARPER. *The New Womanhood*. New York: Broadway Publishing Co. 151 pp. (Library of Congress.)

There is very little freshness about this book. The new woman (especially the "bachelor maiden") is extolled so

insistently and tediously that there is danger of the reader's undergoing a reaction. The best chapter, *Woman's Place in the World's Work*, is a weak restatement of some points made by Veblen and Mrs. Gilman—concerning woman as a social parasite, etc. The book is not well written, either in point of elegance or in point of vigor. But its very dullness may serve to convince some readers of its sanity.

FORD, ISABELLA O. *Women and Socialism*. London: Independent Labor Party. (Library of Congress.)

The main contention is that the woman movement and the socialist movement are closely interdependent.

- * PARSONS, FRANK. [*The Story of New Zealand: A History of New Zealand from the Earliest Times to the Present, with special reference to the Political, Industrial and Social Development of the Island Commonwealth*. Edited and published by C. F. Taylor. Philadelphia: Equity Series. (Library of Congress.)] Chap. 48 (pp. 260-278). *Equal Suffrage*.

A reassuring account of the working of equal suffrage in New Zealand.

- * REPPLIER, AGNES. [*Compromises*. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. (Library of Congress.)] *The Spinster* (pp. 170-184).

Good ridicule of the idea that a self-supporting spinster "is aware that her mode of life is essentially selfish, and therefore stands condemned." "Would her mode of life be less selfish if she asked support from a married brother, or a wealthy aunt?" There is plenty of sympathy, Miss Repplier says, for the dejected, wistful spinster. But "what if she is not in the least wistful, and never casts longing looks at her sister-in-law's babies, nor strains them passionately to her heart, nor deems it a privilege to nurse her nephews through whooping-cough and measles, nor

offers herself in any fashion as a holocaust upon other people's domestic altars?" "Mariana no longer waits tearfully by the Moated Grange. She leaves it as quickly as possible for some more healthful habitation, and a more engaging pursuit."

Verzeichnis der auf dem Gebiete der Frauenfrage während der Jahre 1851 bis 1901 erschienenen Schriften, herausgegeben vom Deutsch-Evangelischen Frauenbund. Neue Ausgabe mit Nachtrag 1902-1904. Hannover: Commissionsverlag von Heinrich Feesche. 210 pp. (Library of Congress.)

This very long list would probably be useful to any one making an exhaustive study of the question.

Woman Suffrage Leaflets. [Leaflets by various writers, republished in collection. Twenty of them are of the Political Equality Series; three are of the series entitled Woman Suffrage Leaflet.] National American Woman Suffrage Association. (Boston Public Library.)

The leaflets are of various dates, but most of those not separately entered are of 1904. The best are:

** *Objections Answered*. By Alice Stone Blackwell. 24 pp. Undated.

Do you Know? By Carrie Chapman Catt. 16 pp. Undated.

*** *Fruits of Equal Suffrage*. I. In Wyoming and Colorado. 4 pp. 1904.

** *Fruits of Equal Suffrage*. II. In Idaho and Utah. 4 pp. 1904.

** *Judge Lindsey on Suffrage*. 3 pp. 1904.

** *The Ballot and the Schools*. By Mrs. Helen L. Grenfell, former state superintendent of public instruction for Colorado. 8 pp. 1904.

- * *Miss McCracken on Colorado.* By Alice Stone Blackwell. Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association. 1904. 4 pp.

Judge Lindsey says: "We believe we have the best Juvenile Court law, the best child-labor law, the best compulsory education law, the best laws for the prevention of cruelty to children and the enforcement of the obligations of fathers to support wife and child, and the best administration of these laws when once upon the statute books, of any city in the Union." "I believe I only voice the general impression of the best informed as to such matters, when I say that we owe this condition more to woman suffrage in Colorado than to any other one cause."

1905

- *** KELLEY, FLORENCE, general secretary to the National Consumers' League. [*Some Ethical Gains through Legislation.* New York and London: The Macmillan Company. \$1.25. (Library of Congress.) Chap. V. (pp. 172-208)]. *The Right of Women to the Ballot.*

The writer shows how much more has been accomplished for children (by child-labor laws, compulsory education, etc.) in the suffrage than in the non-suffrage states. Other good points, of the same general character, are made, and the essay is an excellent answer to those who insist that the valid arguments for woman suffrage are all "theoretical." The title of the chapter is misleading.

- SMITH, W. SIDNEY. *Outlines of the Women's Franchise Movement in New Zealand.* Wellington, Melbourne and London: Whitcomb & Tombs. 1905. 103 pp. (Boston Public Library.)

The publication of this book was occasioned by the statement frequently made that the franchise was given to the

women of New Zealand without their having made any effort to obtain it. The writer gives a long account of the movement, showing that in reality strenuous efforts were made by the women. The book is of very little interest.

1906

ANTHONY, SUSAN B. *Scrap-books of Newspaper Clippings* compiled by Miss Anthony. 30 vols. (Susan B. Anthony Collection, Library of Congress.)

An unselected mass of clippings.

*** BOSANQUET, HELEN. [*The Family*. London: The Macmillan Co. (Library of Congress.)] Chap. XII. (pp. 279-299). *The Woman in the Family*.

This is an excellent chapter, especially calculated to win over conservative opinion, and to quiet fears that woman suffrage will break up the family as we now have it.

GORE-BOOTH, EVA. *Women's Wages and the Franchise and Certain Legislative Proposals*. 7 pp. (Library of Congress.)

Shows the injustice of government interference to exclude women's labor while women have no share in the government. The examples that are chiefly discussed are the proposed exclusion of women from the Pit-Brow (ostensibly for the sake of the women but really because the men want the jobs for themselves) and the proposed legislation prohibiting married women from going out to work. Such interference with the laws of supply and demand forces women back into trades that are already hopelessly overcrowded, and depresses still further the wages in those trades.

- * HARDIE, J. KEIR, M. P. *The Citizenship of Women; A Plea for Women's Suffrage*. London: The Independent Labor Party. 1906. 15 pp.

An interesting account of the history of the question, with special reference to its connection with the various reform bills.

HARPER, IDA HUSTED. *Suffrage a Right*. Reprinted from the *North American Review*, September 21, 1906. New York: North American Review Publishing Co. 16 pp. (Library of Congress.)

The argument is based entirely on abstract justice—especially on quotations from the framers of the constitution to the effect that suffrage is “an Original Right of Nature.” etc. All that such arguments come to is that the framers of the constitution did not consistently put their theory into practice. It does not follow that we are bound to do it for them—especially when we have given up this particular theory.

- ** MARÉCHAI, Dr. PHILIPPE. *Le Loi de deux lignes peut émanciper la femme*. Conférence faite devant une assemblée féministe, le 14 Juillet, 1906. Paris: Albin Michel. 31 pp. (Boston Public Library.)

The writer advises feminists not to haggle over a hundred separate injustices, but to put all their forces into a demand for this one simple law: “Les Français et Françaises majeurs ont les mêmes droits civils et politiques.” He is especially opposed to laborious discussions of marriage and divorce before the central point of complete equality is gained; nor does he consider these questions to be by any means the chief point at issue in the feminist movement. In this he is refreshingly different from most Frenchmen. The essay is very interesting from beginning to end.



"Rien n'oppose en réalité à l'émancipation féministe; l'homme lui-même gagnerait et au point de vue de l'hérédité et au point de vue de l'éducation, à tenir l'existence d'une mère intelligente, instruite, n'ayant plus les vices de l'esclave: vénalité, coquetterie, fausseté, hypocrisie, etc." "Ouvrons la cage aux femmes, cette cage dont les barreaux imbrisables sont forgés par les lois et les préjugés; laissons plusieurs générations de femmes évoluer absolument égales aux hommes par les droits. Alors, dans un siècle ou deux, nos arrière-neveux pourront commencer à parler en connaissance de cause de la question féminine."

THIÉBAUX, CHARLES. *Le Féminisme et les socialistes*, depuis Saint-Simon jusqu'à nos jours. Paris: Arthur Rousseau. 179 pp. (New York Public Library.)

Interesting account of the attitude of leading French socialists towards the woman question. The writer concludes that woman has little to hope for from the socialists.

***** *The College Evening of the Thirty-eighth Annual Convention of the National American Women Suffrage Association*, held in Baltimore, February 8, 1906. A Tribute of gratitude [to Susan B. Anthony] from representatives of women's colleges. 31 pp.

The best addresses are those by:

**** Professor Mary W. Calkins, professor of philosophy and psychology, Wellesley College.

***** President M. Carey Thomas, of Bryn Mawr College.

Memorial of the Women of Oklahoma and Indian Territory to the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention. Guthrie. (Library of Congress.)

The arguments are rather disconnected. The best part of the pamphlet is the second division, containing testimony

to the good working of woman suffrage from the governors of Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Wyoming and Oregon, and also a speech by Robert L. Owen.

1907

- ** CAIRD, MONA.** *The Morality of Marriage*, and other Essays on the Status and Destiny of Woman. London: George Redway. 239 pp. (New York Public Library.)

A very forceful attack upon marriage in its present legalised form. Especially good are the chapters on *The Future of the Home* (pp. 115-127), *Children of the Future* (pp. 150-156), and *The Suppression of Variant Types* (pp. 193-211). Of all the chapters, however, the most persuasive, the cleverest, and the one bearing most closely on woman suffrage is *A Defense of the "Wild Women"* (pp. 157-191), first published as an article in the *Nineteenth Century*, May, 1892. "We shall never have really good mothers until women cease to make motherhood the central idea of their existence. The woman who has no interest larger than the affairs of her children is not a fit person to train them." "This worship of 'Nature' is a strange survival in a scientific age of the old image-worship of our ancestors. She is our Freya or Hertha, a personal will who designs and plans. This is a subtle form of superstition which has cunningly nestled among the folds of the garment of Science, and there it will lurk, safe and undetected, for many years, to discourage all change, to cast discredit on all new thought, to hold man to his errors, and to blind him to his own enormous power of development. It is this insidious superstition that prevents intelligent people—nay, persons of scientific training—from recognising the effect upon women of their circumstances."

CATT, CARRIE CHAPMAN. *Woman Suffrage and its Basic Argument*. Interurban Woman Suffrage Series, No. 2. New York: Interurban Woman Suffrage Council. 8 pp. (New York Public Library.)

The basic argument is held to be that "Taxation without representation is tyranny" and "Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed."

CATT, CARRIE CHAPMAN. *Woman Suffrage and the Home*. Interurban Woman Suffrage Series, No. 4. New York: Interurban Woman Suffrage Council. 8 pp. (New York Public Library.)

** CHOLMELEY, ROBERT. *Women's Suffrage: The Demand and its Meaning*. London: T. F. Unwin. 1907. 16 pp.

Very good answer to the usual objections.

**** DENSMORE, EMMET, M.D. *Sex Equality; A Solution of the Woman Problem*. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co. 382 pp. \$1.60. (Library of Congress.)

The main contention is that so-called masculine and feminine traits are not fundamental and inalienable attributes of the two sexes, but "are the result primarily of environment, with variation and heredity as contributory factors." The book is somewhat diffuse, and is really rather a survey of recent literature on the subject of woman, than an original contribution. As such, however, it is a very effective argument for the complete removal of all arbitrary sex distinctions. Woman suffrage is treated particularly on pp. 290-300. The best chapters are: XII. *Marriage and Matehood* and XIV. *The Future of Woman*. The biological argument in the first two chapters is also much to the point.

- * GILMAN, CHARLOTTE PERKINS. *Women and Social Service*. National American Woman Suffrage Association. 12 pp. 5 cents.

An argument for woman suffrage on the ground that the theory of democracy is that government is service—"and certainly nobody on earth ever objected to women servants."

- ** HARDIE, J. KEIR, M. P. [*From Serfdom to Socialism*. London: George Allen. (Library of Congress.)] *Socialism and the Woman Question* (pp. 61-70.)

A well managed and well written argument to show that woman's economic dependence is the chief cause of her subjection, that her position will be strengthened by socialism, and that her consequent greater freedom will make her more careful in marriage and will thus tend to the improvement of the race. From the standpoint of woman suffrage, the argument is excellent for those who have even slight leanings towards socialism, but dangerous for those who have a horror of it.

- * HARPER, IDA HUSTED. *History of the Movement for Woman Suffrage in the United States*. New York: Interurban Woman Suffrage Council. 15 pp. Two for 5 cents.

Good short sketch of the movement, beginning with the story of Margaret Brent, who in 1647 demanded "place and voyce" in the Maryland legislature, and ending with the year 1907.

HARPER, IDA HUSTED. *Woman Suffrage throughout the World*. Reprinted from the *North American Review*, September, 1907. New York: North Ameri-

can Review Publishing Co. 16 pp. (Library of Congress.)

This article gives an account of the progress made by the cause of woman suffrage in New Zealand, Australia, France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Iceland, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Italy, Russia, Finland, Norway, Sweden, Canada and Great Britain. It is interesting as showing the extent of the movement, but it does not enter into the question of how woman suffrage works in the countries that have it.

LAWRENCE, EMMELINE PETHICK. *The New Crusade*.
Speech delivered at Exeter Hall, May 30, 1907. 8 pp.
Not remarkable.

*** MATTHEW, ARNOLD HARRIS (*de jure* Earl of Landaff).
Woman Suffrage. London: T. C. & E. C. Jack.
Social Problem Series. 119 pp. \$.50. (Library of Congress.)

A good book, full of spirit and vigor, popular in tone, rather loosely constructed. The best chapters are: V. *Women's Work and Wages—Disadvantages under which Women Work*; VII. *Will the Suffrage Help?* XI. *Arguments against the Suffrage Considered*.

"Mr. Massey, M. P. for Wilts, supplied the House with a new argument. 'Was a woman to be First Lord of the Admiralty, and to send orders to the Channel Squadron, which she was incapable of commanding?' One is rather amazed to hear a member of Parliament talking as if it were an unheard of and outrageous thing to make anyone First Lord of the Admiralty who was incapable of commanding the Channel Squadron. . . . Is Mr. Tweedmouth capable of commanding the Channel Squadron? Does Mr. Massey even imagine that he will ever see Mr.

Haldane reining in his fiery steed on the battlefield, or crying 'Up, guards, and at 'em'?"

MEAKIN, ANNETTE M. B. *Woman in Transition*. London: Methuen & Co. 313 pp. (Boston Public Library.)

This is a survey of the present status of opinion with regard to the woman question, with copious extracts from various progressive writers. It does not serve the purpose of a summary of the case, since it is very long drawn out and full of repetitions. Its appeal can be only to those who restrict themselves to predigested mental food.

* ROBINS, ELIZABETH. *The Convert*. New York: The Macmillan Co. 304 pp. (Library of Congress.)

A fairly good novel. The interest is largely centered in the first suffragette agitations, which arouse the somewhat condescending enthusiasm of the heroine.

* SMEDLEY, CONSTANCE. *The Conflict*. New York: Moffat, Yard & Co. 311 pp. \$1.50. (Library of Congress.)

The heroine of this novel is a business woman who rejoices in her economic independence. Her love of work and contempt for "beauty-culture" are a constant source of amazement to her friends, and the discussions that arise are amusing and effective. There are serious defects in the management of the plot, but some of the situations are telling.

STOPES, CHARLOTTE CARMICHAEL. *The Sphere of "Man" in relation to that of "Woman" in the Constitution*. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 64 pp. (Library of Congress.)

The argument is practically the same as that of *British Freewomen*, by the same author,—that "there was a wide-

spread and national recognition of the existence, the place, and the privilege of women in earlier times." The manner is tedious, and the argument is of a sort to make little appeal—to Americans, at least. The historical facts are less interesting than those given in *British Freewomen*.

***** THOMAS, WILLIAM I. *Sex and Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 325 pp. \$1.50. (Library of Congress.)

The last two studies—*The Adventitious Character of Woman* and *The Mind of Woman and the Lower Races*—have a very important bearing upon the larger aspects of woman suffrage. Nothing is more likely to spur women on towards a larger human life than a realisation of their present place in society. The following statement of the case sounds harsh, but it is fairly well substantiated by the rest of the essay: "Morality, in the most general sense, represents the code under which activities are best carried on, and is worked out in the school of experience. It is pre-eminently an adult and a male system, and men are intelligent enough to recognise that neither women nor children have passed through this school. It is on this account that, while man is merciless to woman from the standpoint of personal behavior, he exempts her from anything in the way of contractual morality, or views her defections in this regard with allowance and even with amusement" (cf. *A Doll's House*).

The conclusion of the chapter on *The Adventitious Character of Woman* is this: "The remedy for the irregularity, pettiness, ill health, and unserviceableness of modern women seems to lie, therefore, along educational lines. Not in general and cultural education alone, but in a special and occupational interest for women, married and unmarried."

The following passages are from the extremely interesting paper on *The Mind of Women and the Lower Races* (pp. 312

and 314): "The mind and the personality are largely built up by suggestion from the outside, and if the suggestions are limited and particular, so will be the mind. The world of modern intellectual life is in reality a white man's world. Few women and perhaps no blacks have ever entered this world in the fullest sense. To enter it in the fullest sense would be to be in it at every moment from the time of birth to the time of death, and to absorb it unconsciously and consciously, as the child absorbs language. When something like this happens, we shall be in a position to judge of the mental efficiency of woman and the lower races. At present we seem justified in inferring that the differences in mental expression between men and women are no greater than they should be in view of the existing differences of opportunity." "Certain it is that no civilisation can remain the highest if another civilisation adds to the intelligence of its men the intelligence of its women."

- **** VILLIERS, BROUGHAM (editor). *The Case for Women's Suffrage*. With contributions by Mabel Atkinson, Florence Balgarnie, Eva Gore-Booth, Robert F. Cholmeley, C. Despard, Millicent Garrett Fawcett, J. Keir Hardie, Nellie Alma Martel, Margaret McMillan, Rosalind Nash, Edith Palliser, Christabel Pankhurst, Emmeline Pankhurst, Constance Smedley, Brougham Villiers, Israel Zangwill. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 220 pp. 1s. (Columbia Library.)

The most interesting contributions are:

- *** *The Women's Suffrage Movement among Trade Unionists*. By Eva Gore-Booth. "During the last sixty years, Mr. Sidney Webb points out, the wages of working men have increased by 50 to 100 per cent, whilst the wages of working women have remained stationary or grown less." "The rich may say that 'women should stay at home and cook the dinner'; the poor know that if women did stay at

home there would often be no dinner to cook." The writer makes a good point in connection with "the present tendency of government to involve itself more and more in direct industrial enterprise"—a tendency which puts the men workers "in the position of having their biggest employers elected by public election," while at the same time "the government mechanically gets its female labor as cheap as it can, unchecked by political considerations." The example spreads to public boards and private employers, who cannot afford to be undercut by one another, and thus their political weakness first depresses the wages of thirty thousand women, and then, through them, depresses the standard of women's remuneration all over the country." The precise effect on wages of women's political disability is not often so clearly stated.

* *The Legal Disabilities of Women.* By Christabel Pankhurst.

** *A Pioneer of the Movement.* By Millicent Garrett Fawcett. This essay forms also the introduction to Mrs. Fawcett's edition of Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Women* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1891).

*****One and One are Two and Talked out!* By Israel Zangwill. Both these speeches (reported in an appendix to the book) are full of excellent wit. "In *Gulliver's Travels*, in the school of political projectors in the island of Laputa, there is a most ingenious doctor who directs that every senator in the great council of a nation, after he has delivered his opinion and argued in favor of it, shall be obliged to give his vote directly contrary. Really there is something of this spirit in the present House of Commons as regards female suffrage. Perhaps a little analysis will enable us to understand this paradoxical situation. The majority have promised to vote for women's suffrage. But *whom* have

they promised? Women. And women have no votes. Therefore the M. P.'s do not take them seriously. You see the vicious circle. In order for women to get votes they must have votes already." In the second speech there is a delicious treatment of Mrs. Ward's argument ("which the *Times* applauds as that of a female Daniel come to judgment") that "if women had votes they would have Power without Responsibility for action." "I am absolutely unable to understand what this wonderful argument means. I have had a vote all these years, and never have I felt this mysterious responsibility, or been called to take the faintest action. It would seem that Mrs. Humphry Ward can only refer to War. But she explicitly denies that. She says that War is only one of the many fields of action into which women cannot enter, and on which the existence of the state depends, and that we all know what they are. As I neither know what they are nor understand what they have to do with the question, I looked into the *Times* leader for enlightenment. But it only repeats, parrot-like, that there are many kinds of action. I consulted the Pall Mall oracle—there are many kinds of action, it echoes oracularly."

ZETKIN, CLARA. *Zur Frage des Frauenwahlrechts*. Bearbeitet nach dem Referat auf der Konferenz sozialistischer Frauen zu Mannheim. Dazu drei Anhänge: Anhang I. Resolution der Konferenz sozialistischer Frauen zu Mannheim, das Frauenwahlrecht betreffend. Anhang II. Entwicklung des Frauenwahlrechts. Anhang III. Eine sozialistische Enquete über die sofortige Einführung des Frauenwahlrechts. Berlin: Buchhandlung Vorwärts. 87 pp. (New York Public Library.)

The attitude of the author is less radical than that of most socialists. But the support of socialism is still, at least in this country, no asset to the cause of woman suffrage.

Woman Suffrage in New Zealand. International Woman Suffrage Alliance. 29 pp. 5 cents.

Favorable testimony from public men in New Zealand, including the prime minister.

1908

- * ALERAMO, SIBILLA. *A Woman at Bay.* Authorised translation from the Italian by Maria H. Lansdale. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 392 pp. \$1.20. (Library of Congress.)

The middle portion of this novel is tedious, but the first quarter and the last give a very interesting picture of the dawn of the feminist movement in contemporary Italy.

- ** BILLINGTON-GREIG, TERESA, and MAUDE FITZHERBERT (editors). *The Hour and the Woman.* London: Women's Freedom League. 1d.

This is one of a series of "occasional papers." There are several clever things in it, among them *The Illogical 'Antis,'* by Maude Fitzherbert,—an uncommonly good reply to the anti-suffrage manifesto issued through Mrs. Humphry Ward in the *Nineteenth Century*, August, 1908. The inherent difficulties that beset a women's anti-suffrage party are well brought out, as are also the particular fallacies of Mrs. Ward's article. "How is this astonishing self-assertion on the part of the 'Antis' concerning this one great political question to be reconciled with their modestly professed ignorance concerning all others?"

BLACKWELL, ALICE STONE. *Women and the School Vote.* New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association. 7 pp. 2 cents.

Statements from various school superintendents as to the value of women's votes in school elections.

CATT, CARRIE CHAPMAN. *A Bit of History*. Interurban Woman Suffrage Series, No. 5. New York: Interurban Woman Suffrage Council. 3 pp. (New York Public Library.)

Criticism of the New York State Legislature for not submitting the woman suffrage amendment to the voters.

*** CHOLMELEY, ROBERT F. *The Women's Anti-Suffrage Movement*. London: National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. 16 pp.

An admirable reply to Mrs. Humphry Ward, in which her arguments are taken up in turn and very cleverly refuted.

***** GROVE, LADY AGNES. *The Human Woman*. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 220 pp. 6s. (Library of Congress.)

This is the best of all recent books dealing with woman suffrage. It is extremely witty, full of ingenious examples and parallels, good-tempered, admirably written. It is distinguished above all by the complete absence of ineffective repetition, and by the directness with which it meets the attacks of opponents. Each of the nine essays can stand by itself (some of them are reprinted from the *Fortnightly*, the *Cornhill*, etc.); yet the book as a whole has structure. The essays are:

I. *The Three K's*. The contention here is that in order to be thoroughly competent even in the sphere of *Kinder, Küche, Kirche*, a woman would be obliged to embrace all of the world's knowledge and interests. The argument is cleverly put, but it is too much of a quibble to be convincing.

II. *The Ideals of a Woman's Party*. This is perhaps the best of all the chapters. It refutes the arguments of the *Spectator* (February, 1908), quoting the best parts of them

at considerable length. The *Spectator's* idea that woman suffrage would lead to "sharp conflict" between the sexes is reduced to delightful absurdity.

III. *Objections to Woman Suffrage Considered.* Excellent straight-forward refutation of the most plausible objections.

IV. *War and Woman's Vote.* Here too the chief argument of the chief adversary (the *Spectator*) is admirably handled.

V. *The Threatened Re-subjection of Women.* Sociological argument, based on Professor L. F. Ward's *Pure Sociology*. The "androcentric" view of Lucas Malet is wittily ridiculed.

VI. *On Women in Assemblies.* Good argument for the advantages of women's participation. Especially good is the point that a woman would have to show far more of exceptional ability than a man before being elected, for example, to parliament.

VII. *Women's Newspapers.* Women's frivolity is shown to be not inherent, but superinduced by custom. No attempt at a non-frivolous woman's paper has been made.

VIII. *The Freedom of Women.* Excellent answer to the arguments of Mrs. Frederic Harrison (and incidentally Mr. Frederic Harrison).

IX. *Disabilities of Women.* Legal and economic disabilities are shown to be the result of political disability. Good criticism of Mrs. Humphry Ward's scheme of "consultative relationship" for women.

HARPER, IDA HUSTED. *The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony.* 3 vols. (1633 pp.) Vols. I. and II. Including Public Addresses, her own Letters, and many from her Contemporaries during Fifty Years. A Story of the Evolution and Status of Women. Indianapolis and Kansas City: The Bowen-Merrill Co. 1899. Vol.

III. Including the Triumphs of her last Years, Account of her Death and Funeral, and Comments of the Press. Indianapolis: The Hollenbeck Press. 1908. (Library of Congress.)

Much too long to be read except by an enthusiast, but interesting to glance through, especially from the impression one gets of the rapid growth of the woman's rights movement within Miss Anthony's life-time. Great fulness of detail; some interesting anecdotes; good index.

HARVEY, GEORGE. *Women, etc.*: Some Leaves from an Editor's Diary. New York and London: Harper & Bros. 231 pp. (Library of Congress.)

Most of the essays on women are not clever enough to make their flippancy acceptable. Two serious essays, however,—*The Necessity of Woman Suffrage* and *The Unequal Conditions of Men and Women*,—are good. And of course the mere fact of approval from the editor of the *North American Review* may have considerable weight.

HUBBARD, ALICE. *Woman's Work*: Being an Inquiry and an Assumption. East Aurora, N. Y.: The Roycrofters. 157 pp. (Library of Congress.)

Evidently an attempt to put some of Mrs. Gilman's and Veblen's theories into more persuasive language. Nothing is gained, and very much is lost. The general thesis—"Marriage will be a failure until husband and wife are each economically free," etc.—is supported by the arguments used in *Women and Economics*, and can therefore hold its own well enough. But the structure of the book is loose; the language is affected; and whenever the writer adds anything of her own there is almost sure to be a defect in the logic. She talks, for instance, in the popular fallacious way, about "the law of compensation." Still, the book may do some service to the cause, since its "artistic" paper

and print may bring it into the hands of people who are not likely to discover Mrs. Gilman's writings.

RAPPAPORT, PHILIP. *Looking Forward: A Treatise on the Status of Woman and the Origin and Growth of the Family and the State.* Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co. 234 pp. (Library of Congress.)

The conclusion is largely a plea for equality between the sexes. The whole book is very vague, and sounds like a bad translation.

- * ROSS, EDWARD ALSWORTH. *Social Psychology: An Outline and Source Book.* New York: The Macmillan Co. 372 pp. (Library of Congress.)

For treatment of the woman question, see index. The book is an excellent source-book; the source of most of the discussion of woman is Veblen's *Theory of the Leisure Class*. Professor Ross' own remarks on the subject are in the same vein. "Individuality develops through practice in choosing. If women are mobbish, it is largely for the same reason that monks, soldiers, peasants, *moujiks*, and other rigidly regulated types are mobbish. Much of woman's exaggerated impressionability disappears once she enjoys equal access with men to such individualising influences as higher education, travel, self-direction, professional pursuits, participation in intellectual and public life."

RUSSELL, CHARLES EDWARD. *Obstructions in the Way of Justice.* New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association. 14 pp. 5 cents.

A rather sensational argument. "The superior moral force of woman" is expected to save the country from the rut of conservatism and plutocracy. This is odd in view

of the many pleas that are made for woman suffrage as a refuge from radicalism.

- ** SMEDLEY, CONSTANCE. *The Daughter*. New York: Moffat, Yard & Co. 387 pp. \$1.50. (Library of Congress.)

This novel, besides having a suffrage worker for its heroine, gives a vivid picture of the conflict in feminine ideals between the older and the younger generation. The characters on both sides are drawn with sympathy and humor, and while the writer plainly shares the views of her independent young people, she makes it clear that they themselves are no better than their elders—that it is simply the changed spirit of the times that enables them to be more useful and happy.

- STOPES, CHARLOTTE CARMICHAEL. *The Constitutional Basis of Women's Suffrage*. Edinburgh: Darien Press. 15 pp.

The last part is an argument, from precedent, for militant methods.

- VILLIERS, BROUGHAM. [*The Socialist Movement in England*. London: T. Fisher Unwin. (Library of Congress.)] Part III., Chap. VI. (pp. 295–310). *Socialism and the Emancipation of Woman*.

An attempt to prove that justice between the sexes must be founded on socialism.

- ** *The Trial of the Suffragette Leaders*. London: Woman's Press, Clement's Inn, Strand.

Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, and Mrs. Drummond were tried for issuing a hand-bill urging men and women to "help the Suffragettes rush the House of

Commons" on October 13th. Their speeches are here reported in full; also the evidence of Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Herbert Gladstone when questioned by Miss Christabel Pankhurst. It is all very interesting reading, especially the questions and answers.

1909

BRASHERE, ORA M. *Science and Suffrage: An Inquiry into the Causes of Sex Differences.* Salt Lake City. 15 pp. (Library of Congress.)

A pseudo-scientific argument for female superiority.

DAVIS, CHARLES GILBERT. [*Why not Now?* Boston: The Gorham Press. (Library of Congress.)] pp. 23-33.

A defense of woman's rights. This is a not unfair example of the writer's habits of thought: "In fact it can be demonstrated as an axiomatic truth," etc. Man is said to be "moved by the cold cruel calculation of the objective mind," while "woman acts from the God-given impulses welling up from her subjective or spiritual nature."

***** EASTMAN, MAX. *Woman's Suffrage and Sentiment.* New York: Equal Franchise Society. 1909. (11 pp.) 5 cents.

This is among the best short modern arguments for woman suffrage. It is not a comprehensive argument, but a direct challenge to anti-suffrage sentiment. Both the more practical issues and the more abstract considerations are waived, or treated only incidentally, and the matter is looked upon simply as a question of competing ideals.

"If these feelings are ever overcome, they will be overcome, not by practical considerations, but by feelings

equally powerful. And it is within belief that the advocates of woman's suffrage have such feelings. They are not a handful of sexless intellectuals, who desire, in the interest of a practical reform, to uproot all the emotional idealism of the world. They are, on the contrary, the very people of passionate hope and imagination, who have discovered in themselves new emotional ideals which they believe to be intrinsically richer, as well as ultimately more serviceable, than the old."

Mr. Eastman then takes up, one by one, the sentiments of the conservatives, and compares them with what the reformers offer in their place. In speaking of the "beautiful futility sentiment" he says: "That women should sit in an upholstered corner, and be fed with sugar-plums and kissing comfits, while men enjoy the rigors of life, is an idea for which these ages will be held up to shaking ridicule." "When the sentiment of chivalry is purged of all tincture of the tyrant, it can only say: If you find your joyful adjustment in a throne, it is yours; but if you find a throne an irksome place to sit, the world is open to you. Speaking in any other terms to a woman who desires action, chivalry is but the courteous exterior of a bigot."

Of the woman's sphere sentiment he says that the chief objection to it "is not that it is untrue, or that as a matter of fact the sphere of those women who most need the consideration of the law-makers is not the home but the factory. Most dogmas are untrue. The chief objection to this one is that, by setting an unnatural standard, it denies to a great many people the possibility of a reasonable adjustment to their circumstances." "There arise, in various circumstances, persons by the millions to whose lives this dogma means wreckage. 'Well, in those cases,' say the best of the dogmatists, 'it were better to break over, but in general woman's sphere is the home.' Which concession is all but enough. If the rule may be broken whenever it

the dictation of conditions or characters, it is
 rule. Only let us get it out of the way. Let
 woman's sphere is the home whenever it is, and
 is not the case, then it is not."
 comes the "privilege-and-influence sentiment,"
 assumes that certain superficial features of polite
 pervade the life of the community and the body-
 to its roots." After undermining this assumption,
 "Yet even in that fortunate sphere where chivalry
 it is a sign of decay that it should usurp the seat
 moral ideals. It begets an unheroic spirit in the
 to lean upon privilege in the rough essentials of life;
 no sentiment should exempt her from the ideals of
 dependence and power. It begets a vainglorious bigotry
 the man to be the constant purveyor of privilege, and no
 sentiment should exempt him from the ideals of humbleness
 magnanimity."

INCH, JESSICA GARRETSON. *How the Ballot Would
 Help the Working Woman.* New York: Equal
 Franchise Society. 3 pp. 5 cents.

The writer shows how legislation, though it does not
 fix money wages, does very largely determine "the real
 wage,—the amount of happiness and comfort that can
 be procured with the nominal wage." "Why are reforms
 [in regard to the conditions under which women may
 work] so obviously righteous that no one ventures to
 oppose them except those whose interests would be
 directly harmed by a change, held up year after year in
 our legislatures? It is because a general diffused philan-
 thropic interest cannot hold its own against an organized
 opposition energized by self-interest. Such an opposition
 . . . must be met by an equally strong and definite
 interest on the other side. The legislators must feel that
 real political power in the shape of ballots is ready to be

used for or against those who represent or fail to represent the welfare of those affected."

*** HAMILTON, CICELY. *Marriage as a Trade*. New York: Moffat, Yard & Co. 257 pp. \$1.25. (Library of Congress.)

A keen analysis of the various aspects of "marriage as a trade." The writer first makes it clear that marriage is, for the average woman, essentially a trade, since it is her means of support. The peculiar difficulties in the case are then pointed out. The woman may not openly seek her job; on the contrary, "she is expected to express unwillingness for the very work for which she has been taught and trained." She is not taught the risks of the trade. And she has no legal claim to any but a subsistence wage. Moreover, the forcing of women into the marriage market is found to have several bad results—loss of romance, over-emphasis on sex, discouragement of individuality, insincerity due to the attempt to conform to the "class wife," etc. The criticism is very cleverly elaborated, especially in the section (pp. 75-91) about woman's morality (which is to a great extent "not morality at all, in the proper sense of the word, but merely a code of manners formulated in the interests of her masters").

This state of things will all be changed, Miss Hamilton thinks, (1) when women engage more freely and frequently in other trades than marriage (thus raising the status of the wife and mother by making her trade a matter of choice), and (2) when those women who do choose marriage can claim regular wages. Thus Miss Hamilton does not after all propose that marriage be lifted to a non-commercial plane. On the contrary, it is to be more of a trade than ever—a "voluntary trade" with fixed wages! This conclusion is disappointing.

LYTTON, LADY CONSTANCE. *No Votes for Women. A Reply to some Recent Anti-Suffrage Publications.* London: A. C. Fifield. 32 pp.

Of no special value.

*** McCABE, JOSEPH. *Woman in Political Evolution.* London: Watts & Co. 80 pp. 6d. (For sale at the office of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, 505 Fifth Ave., New York; 20 cents.)

An excellent survey of the status of woman in the successive phases of human development, from primitive times to the present period. The writer effectively combats the theory held by Dr. Emil Reich, that "the subordination of woman is one of the prices of empire." He admits that the revolt of woman in earlier civilisations coincided with the beginnings of decay, but he maintains that in each case the revolt sprang from the high state of culture attained by the nation—from its strength, not its weakness. "Wherever civilisation grew out of barbarism the demand arose; it died away only because a fresh barbarism broke the thread of civilisation." The organization of the civilised world powers is now so strong that there is no danger that the thread of civilisation will again be broken, and the revolt of woman will continue steadily until full justice is obtained.

The chapter on *The Struggle in the Nineteenth Century* treats of the four radical changes that give a new force to the demand of woman—namely, the extension of the franchise to the general male population, the extension of the sphere of legislation, the economic evolution of woman and the deliberate encouragement of active service by women in electoral campaigns.

* PANKHURST, CHRISTABEL. *The Militant Methods of the N. W. S. P. U.* London: Woman's Press, Clement's Inn, Strand. 1d.

Good suffragette pamphlet.

POTTER, FRANCES SQUIRE. *Education and Democracy*. New York: National College Equal Suffrage League. 12 pp. 5 cents.

A historical survey of universities in their relation to the national life, and an estimate of the significance of the College Equal Suffrage League as a meeting-point of "town interests and gown interests"—"at once a university organization and a political organization."

SCHIRMACHER, DR. KAETHE. *The Modern Woman's Rights Movement: A Historical Survey*. Translated from the second German edition by Carl Conrad Ekhardt. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1912. 280 pp. (Library of Congress.)

This book, first published in 1905, was brought up to date in the edition of 1909, from which the translation is made. It gives an account of the movement in all civilised and semi-civilised countries, dwelling especially on recent gains and struggles.

SCHMIDT, NATHANIEL. *Government by the People*. New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association. 7 pp. Two for 5 cents.

The significance of woman suffrage as an extension of the principle of democracy.

*** SHAW, GEORGE BERNARD. *Press Cuttings: A Topical Sketch*, compiled from the Editorial and Correspondence Columns of the Daily Papers. New York: Brentano's. 45 pp. 75 cents. (Library of Congress.)

A delicious satirical comedy, chiefly about suffrage and anti-suffrage, and British militarism.

"Mrs. Farrell: Would you put up with bad language from me because I've risked my life eight times in child-bed?

"Mitchener: My dear Mrs. Farrell, you surely would not compare a risk of that harmless domestic kind to the fearful risks of the battlefield?

"Mrs. Farrell: I wouldn't compare risks run to bear living people into the world to risks run to blow them out of it. A mother's risk is jooty; a soldier's is nothin' but divilment."

*** SUMNER, HELEN L., Ph.D. *Equal Suffrage: The Results of an Investigation in Colorado made for the Collegiate Equal Suffrage League of New York State.* New York and London: Harper Bros. 281 pp. \$2.00. (Library of Congress.)

The object of this book is "to disentangle from other political factors the influence of equal suffrage upon political and social life. It is not pretended, of course, that such a study can affect in any way the right of women to the ballot. It has been made for the purpose of assisting toward a rational conclusion those fair-minded, impartial men and women who, without possessing a political theory as a touchstone, wish to determine, in the light of evidence rather than of assertion, whether equal suffrage is a sound and helpful measure under our present political system."

The evidence is presented in excellent form, the different aspects of the question being kept conveniently distinct. Full account is taken of the various factors that must be considered in weighing the results. The general conclusion is that "equal suffrage has brought practically no loss and some decided gain, the latter mainly evident in the effect of the possession of the ballot upon the women of Colorado." The most conspicuous outward effect is found to be that on legislation.

The writer does exactly what she sets out to do: she furnishes those who are already interested in the question with a most useful document. No one not already inter-

ested will read the book, but this was inevitable from the nature of the case; its very excellence depends on its fulness of dry detail and on its impartial, impersonal tone.

There is a very good introduction by Helen Thomas Flexner, from which one may get the gist of the book.

- ** THOMAS, W. I. *Votes for Women*. Reprinted from the American Magazine for July, 1909. Boston: Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association. 10 pp. 5 cents. See page 264.

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- * ABBOTT, EDITH, Ph.D. *Women in Industry: A Study in American Economic History*. With an introductory note by Sophonisba P. Breckenridge, J.D., Ph.D. New York and London: Appleton & Co. 408 pp. \$2.00. (Library of Congress.)

A very interesting study. There is no direct treatment of the suffrage, but the book should be read by all who are interested in the economic side of the question.

- ** COIT, STANTON. *Woman in Church and State*. London: West London Ethical Society. 70 pp. 6d.

Dr. Coit advises that the direct demand for the vote be laid aside for a while, to give place to an agitation for the removal of other sex disabilities. "If the other sex disabilities, as I maintain, are the chief reason for granting the vote, a focussing of attention upon them is the best way of generating sentiments favorable to the vote." Demand should, he thinks, at once be made for the admission of women to the pulpit, the bench and both houses of parliament; for the creation of women's universities not inferior to Oxford and Cambridge; for fair divorce laws; and for the legal maintenance of wives by a fair proportion of their husband's wages. The greater part of the book is devoted to a discussion of

woman's exclusion from positions of authority in the church—a survival from the times when women were regarded as “unclean.” Whatever one may think as to the advisability of an immediate attack on this injustice, the analysis here made of its causes and consequences is keen and illuminating.

CONWAY, MONCURE D. *A Vigil*. New York: Equal Franchise Society. 10 pp. 5 cents.

“Behold it is the Vigil of the Bridal Day of Man and Woman in the State,” and so on.

** DAVIES, EMILY. *Thoughts on some Questions Relating to Women, 1860–1908*. New York: The Macmillan Co. 228 pp. \$1.25. (Library of Congress.)

A very interesting collection of essays by one of the leaders in the movement for the advancement of women. The papers range in date of original publication from 1860 to 1908. The subjects discussed are the employment of women, medicine as a profession for women, the education of women (especially university education) and woman suffrage. Miss Davies is from the start uncompromising in her demand that women shall have exactly the same educational opportunities that men have. She will accept no dogmas about “the female mind,” and she sees no reason for the establishment of a special kind of liberal education for women. The article on *Special Systems of Education for Women* (1868) is a good answer to present-day reactionaries.

DESPARD, CHARLOTTE. *Woman in the New Era*. With an Appreciation by Christopher St. John. London: The Suffrage Shop. 52 pp. (Library of Congress.)

An attempt to show that woman's demand for a larger life has its roots in the past, and has, especially, the

sanction of the Bible; and an altogether visionary picture of the transformation of the spirit of politics by women's voting ("the one object being the common service—the common good—they will calmly and carefully consider," etc.).

The *Impression* of Mrs. Despard by Christopher St. John has a good deal of vividness.

- *** DORR, RHETA CHILDE. *What Eight Million Women Want*. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. 339 pp. \$2.00. (Library of Congress.)

A suffrage argument based on a survey of the social service activities of women's clubs and other organizations, especially the Consumers' League and the Women's Trade Union League. A very good explanation of the movement is given in the introductory chapter: "The modern thinking, planning, self-governing, educated woman came into a world which is losing faith in the commercial ideal, and is endeavoring to substitute in its place a social ideal. . . . That the mass of women are invariably found on the side of new ideals is no evidence of their moral superiority to men; it is merely evidence of their intellectual youth. . . . Until recently their minds, scantily furnished with a few personal preferences and personal prejudices, were entirely bare of community ideals or any social theory. When they found themselves in need of a social theory it was only natural that they should choose the most modern, the most progressive, the most idealistic."

- * ELLIOTT, SARAH BARNWELL. *A Study of the Woman Suffrage Movement in America*. New York: Equal Franchise Society. 44 pp. 5 cents.

A good outline of convenient length.

GALLICHAN, WALTER M. *Modern Woman and how to Manage Her*. New York: John Lane Co. 120 pp. (Library of Congress.)

A trivial book, half descriptive and half argumentative. The writer predicts a new matriarchate.

- * GILMAN, CHARLOTTE PERKINS. *What Diantha Did*. New York: The Charlton Co. 250 pp. \$1.10. (Library of Congress.)

Diantha carries out Mrs. Gilman's scheme for the economic independence of women and the organization of the remaining home industries on regular business principles. The book is full of good ideas and good controversial dialogue, but the characters are so completely subordinate to the moral that they do not enlist much sympathy as individuals.

- * HALL, ELIZA CALVERT. *Sally Ann's Experience*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 45 pp. 50 cents. (Library of Congress.)

A good story of the times when married women had no property rights.

- **** HAMILTON, CICELY. *A Pageant of Great Women*. London: The Suffrage Shop. 69 pp. 2 shillings. (For sale at the National American Woman Suffrage Association, New York. 50 cents.)

A dramatic poem of real beauty and power. Woman contends with Prejudice in an argument before the throne of Justice, summoning to her aid a pageant of the great women of history. She wins her freedom, and speaks to Man as follows:

"I have no quarrel with you; but I stand
For the clear right to hold my life my own:
The clear, clean right! To mould it as I will,

Not as you will, with or apart from you;
 To make of it a thing of brain and blood,
 Of tangible substance and of turbulent thought—
 No thin, grey shadow of the life of man!
 Your love, perchance, may set a crown on it;
 But I may crown myself in other ways—
 (As you have done who are one flesh with me).
 I have no quarrel with you; but, henceforth,
 This you must know: The world is mine, as yours,
 The pulsing strength and passion and heart of it:
 The work I set my hand to, woman's work,
 Because I set my hand to it."

** HARVEY, GEORGE. *An address delivered at the Garden Theatre, New York City, March 24, 1910.* New York: Equal Franchise Society. 29 pp. 5 cents.

**** HOUSMAN, LAWRENCE. *The "Physical Force" Fallacy.* Woman's Press, Clement's Inn, Strand. 8 pp. 1d.

An admirable piece of reasoning, in which the "physical force" argument is utterly routed at every point. Perhaps the best part is that in which Mr. Housman explains how with our armies, as with our fire-arms, "the loading-point has been put farther and farther back." "Our military organisation, in fact, has developed just as our civil organisation has done, and depends for its working not on mere physical force, but on an economic combination which draws upon the whole community for its supplies." "At the back of every combatant we have a whole string of workers through whose exertions alone he is able to take the field." "The old fable of the war which the members of the body waged against the stomach is always applicable, quite irrespective of sex, wherever ill-conducted force sets out to defeat function. The physical force party, the arms,

the legs, the hands, and the loud-boasting mouth, thought to score an easy victory over their uncombative opponent. They found out their mistake: the stomach remained unconquerable. And whether in military or civil affairs it is the stomach, the internal economy, which dispenses strength to the rest, and those who seek to control it by physical violence will only live to discover that they have 'no stomach for the fight.' "

LEMOUCHE, EMERENCE M. (Virginia Leblick, pseud.)
*The New Era: Woman's Era; or, Transformation
 from Barbaric to Humane Civilization.* 117 pp.
 (Library of Congress.)

An hysterical little book about the "Selfishness, Wickedness and Cruelty" of man and the "high Moral Sentiments" which are the "Natural Endowment" of woman.

- * MILL, JOHN STUART. *The Letters of John Stuart Mill.*
 Edited, with an introduction, by Hugh S. R. Elliot.
 2 vols. London, New York and Bombay: Longmans,
 Green & Co. (Library of Congress.)

The most interesting passages in which the question of woman suffrage is treated are: I. 160-161, 208; II. 33, 61, 79-82, 100-105, 209-210. For other references, see index. The letter on pp. 100-105, from which the following passage is taken, was written to Florence Nightingale in reply to a letter in which, while expressing sympathy with the woman suffrage cause, she had declined to join the organisation. This letter, like many others in the second volume, is said to have been written for Mill by Helen Taylor.

"I will confess to you that I have often stood amazed at what has seemed to me the presumption with which persons who think themselves humble set bounds to the capacities for improvement of their fellow-creatures, think themselves

qualified to define how much or how little of the divine light of truth can be borne by the world in general, assume that none but the very élite can see what is perfectly clear to themselves."

NATHAN, MAUD. *Working Women and the Ballot*. New York: Equal Franchise Society. 29 pp. 5 cents.

PERKINS, A. J. G. *Our English Inspiration, Past and Present*. New York: Equal Franchise Society. 32 pp. 5 cents.

The most interesting part of this pamphlet is the account of the daring exploits of Frances Wright, a strenuous worker for social betterment in 1830 and thereabouts.

** PUTNAM, EMILY JAMES. *The Lady: Studies of Certain Significant Phases of her History*. New York: Sturgis & Walton. 323 pp. \$2.50. (Library of Congress.)

As anti-suffrage sentiment is largely dependent on devotion to "the lady" as an ideal, this book, which is a subtle but effective satire on that ideal, seems to belong in a suffrage bibliography. It would make an excellent Christmas present for a suffragist to give to an anti-suffragist, since it looks handsome and harmless, and yet is sure to set one thinking on the woman question. It consists of studies of the lady of different periods—*The Greek Lady, The Roman Lady, The Lady Abbess, The Lady of the Castle, The Lady of the Renaissance, The Lady of the Salon, The Lady of the Blue Stockings, The Lady of the Slave States*. Sympathetic as the studies are, the lady is not treated with the sentimental touch to which she is accustomed. The anti-social character of her existence is not lost sight of. "The typical lady everywhere tends to the feudal habit of mind." "She can renounce the

world more easily than she can identify herself with it. A lady may become a nun in the strictest and poorest order without the moral convulsion, the destruction of false ideas, the birth of character, that would be the preliminary steps toward becoming an efficient stenographer."

SHAFROTH, JOHN, Governor of Colorado. *Should Women Have the Right to Vote?* New York: Equal Franchise Society. 23 pp. 5 cents.

Of no special value, except as coming from the Governor of Colorado.

**** SHARP, EVELYN. *Rebel Women.* New York: John Lane Co. 131 pp. \$1.00. (Library of Congress.)

Admirably vivid little sketches of typical suffragette scenes—heckling, "rushing" the House, selling *Votes for Women* on a street corner, speaking in parlors and in slums, "patrolling the gutter," etc. The candor, spirit and humor of the book cannot fail to disarm, for the time at least, all but the most stolid disapproval.

* SHAW, REV. ANNA HOWARD. *Woman Suffrage as an Educator.* New York: Equal Franchise Society. 11 pp. 5 cents.

SIMKHOVITCH, MRS. V. G. *Address at Albany, March 9, 1910.* New York: Equal Franchise Society. 3 pp. 5 cents.

TAYLOR, I. E. *The Suffrage Movement from Its Evolutionary Aspect.* London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 34 pp. (Library of Congress.)

"It is, here and now, proposed to compare some of the leading doctrines of orthodox Christianity with those

of Theosophy, and finally, through the broader scope and clearer vision of the latter, to illuminate a movement which, to the materialist, appears at once unwomanly and incomprehensible." As is to be expected, the writer has ideas of her own on the subject of evolution, her science being quite as unorthodox as her religion.

- * WHITLOCK, HON. BRAND, Mayor of Toledo. *Women and Democracy*. Address delivered before the Equal Franchise Society, February 24, 1910. New York: Equal Franchise Society. 12 pp. 5 cents.

"Men vote because they are men. There is no other reason under heaven than that, and women have the right to vote because they are women, because with men they are part of humanity."

- * WILLIAMS, JESSE LYNCH. *A Common Sense View of Woman Suffrage*. New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association. 19 pp. Two for 5 cents.

- *** WILLIAMS, JESSE LYNCH. *The Married Life of the Frederic Carrolls*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 601 pp. \$1.20. (Library of Congress.)

An amusing series of stories in which progressive ideas in regard to woman's economic position are inculcated in an agreeably unobtrusive manner (especially in chapters I, III, and IX.).

FRENCH CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES, SESSION OF 1910. *Official Report of the Commission on Universal Suffrage on the Proposition to Give Women the Right to Vote*. New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association. 16 pp. 5 cents.

A condensed translation of the report presented to the French Chamber of Deputies in 1910. Chiefly a survey

of the situation in regard to woman suffrage in various countries.

- * *Report of the Work at Albany Carried on by the Equal Franchise Society during the Legislative Session of 1910.* New York: Equal Franchise Society. 29 pp. 5 cents.

An interesting report showing the methods used by the Society's legislative committee, under the chairmanship of Mrs. Harriet Stanton Blatch. Useful guidance for suffrage workers.

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- **** ADDAMS, JANE. [*Newer Ideals of Peace.* New York: The Macmillan Co. (Library of Congress.) Chapter VII. (pp. 180-208).] Utilization of Women in City Government.

The main part of this chapter is contained also in the pamphlet *The Modern City and the Municipal Franchise for Women* (see p. 152).

- ** BLACKWELL, ALICE STONE. "*When All the Women Want It.*" New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association. 8 pp. Two for 5 cents.

One of the good points made is that "if, in the case of women, it were conceded that the matter ought to be decided by majority rule, then it ought to be decided, as other questions put to men are decided, by the wish of the majority of those caring enough about the matter to vote upon it. This is never proposed by anti-suffragists, and is the last thing to which they would be willing to consent."

- BROWN, OLYMPIA. *Acquaintances, Old and New, among Reformers.* 115 pp. (Library of Congress.)

The writer records her impressions of many of the pioneers in the women's rights movement. The book is

rather carelessly put together, and there seems to be no attempt at vivid or significant portraiture.

CATT, CARRIE CHAPMAN. *The World Movement for Woman Suffrage, 1904 to 1911*. Being the Presidential Address delivered at Stockholm to the Sixth Convention of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, June 13, 1911. International Woman Suffrage Alliance. 14 pp. 4 cents.

COWLES, JAMES L. *What Women Might Do with the Ballot: Reasonable Postal Laws*. New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association. 8 pp. 5 cents.

It is not clear how one's opinion on the subject of postal laws is affected by sex.

*** CREEL, GEORGE, and LINDSEY, JUDGE BEN B. *Measuring up Equal Suffrage*. New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association. 32 pp. Two for 5 cents.

Reprinted from the *Delineator*. See p. 284.

**** DORR, RHETA CHILDE. *Breaking into the Human Race*. New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association. 15 pp. 5 cents.

Reprinted from *Hampton's Magazine*. See p. 285.

*** DUBOIS, W. E. BURGHARDT. *Disfranchisement*. New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association. 11 pp. 5 cents.

An admirable argument for complete democracy. "The best and most effective aristocracy, like the best monarchy, suffered from lack of knowledge; they did not know or understand the needs of the people, and they

could not find out, for in the last analysis only the man himself, however humble, knows his own condition." "If a state allows its citizens to grow up in ignorance it ought to suffer from an ignorant ballot; it is the threat of ignorant voters that makes good schools."

- ***** EASTMAN, MAX. *Is Woman Suffrage Important?*
New York: The Men's League for Woman Suffrage.
21 pp. Two for 5 cents.

Reprinted from the *North American Review*. See p. 286.

- ** GILMAN, CHARLOTTE PERKINS. *The Man-Made World, or Our Androcentric Culture*. New York: The Charlton Co. 260 pp. \$1.10. (Library of Congress.)

Mrs. Gilman turns the tables upon the numberless people who have written of women as simply females—adjuncts to man, necessary for purposes of reproduction, but having no *human* attributes—by writing a book about men as males, showing "what has been the effect on our human life of the unbridled dominance of one sex."

The distinctively masculine instincts, according to Mrs. Gilman, are the instinct of combat, the predacious instinct and the instinct of self-expression. She shows how these instincts are at work in all the factors of our man-made civilization—the family, health and beauty, art, literature, games and sports, ethics and religion, education, "society," law and government, crime and punishment, politics and warfare. The main idea is contained in the following passage: "As human beings they [men] are to-day far more highly developed than women, and doing far more for the world. . . . As *males* their unchecked supremacy has resulted in an abnormal predominance of masculine impulses in our human processes. . . . As it happens, the distinctly feminine or maternal impulses are far more nearly in line with

human progress than are those of the male; which makes her exclusion from human functions the more mischievous" (p. 235). The argument is ingeniously developed But does not Mrs. Gilman overestimate the extent to which a woman's "maternal impulses" enter into her feelings towards other people's children? Is it true that "her main tendency" is "to give and not to get?"

- ** GILMAN, CHARLOTTE PERKINS. *Suffrage Songs and Verses*. New York: The Charlton Co. 24 pp. 10 cents.

A collection of poems reprinted from *In This Our World* (1898), *The Woman's Journal*, and *The Forerunner*. There are some excellent pieces of satire and fable—notably *The Housewife*, *Locked Inside*, *Women Do Not Want It*, *Wedded Bliss* and *The Anti and the Fly*.

- * HARD, WILLIAM. *The Women of To-morrow*. New York: Baker & Taylor Co. 211 pp. \$1.50. (Library of Congress.)

The style of this book is sensational, but the doctrines are temperate. The essays give a broad critical survey of the modern American woman in various aspects and various classes. *Learning for Earning* treats of trade schools and of the enlargement of the vocational field for college women. *Learning for Spending* describes the study that is being made of "home economics," a study which, according to the writer, should be included in the education of boys as well as of girls, and which should concern itself chiefly with hygiene and wise expenditure. *Mothers of the World* is a survey of the constructive social work of women. Special stress is laid on the absurdity of women's losing all share in the management of organizations that they have created as soon as such organizations are taken over by the state (i.e. the voting public).

Mr. Hard is only mildly progressive in his view of the economic function of women. He looks forward to an endowment of motherhood, and advocates ordinary industrial, or professional work for women only for the period between schooling and motherhood (he would have marriage precede parentage by a few years) and for the time that remains after the children have grown up. He has no patience, however, with the merely parasitic woman, however ornamental.

- **** HECKER, EUGENE A. *A Short History of Women's Rights From the Days of Augustus to the Present Time.* With Special Reference to England and the United States. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 292 pp. \$1.50. (Library of Congress.)

An admirable book, scholarly and informing. The chapters dealing with the rights of women under Roman law, under the early Christian church and under canon law, are particularly interesting. There is copious citation, throughout the book, of authorities both legal and literary. The writer bears in mind that laws are not always true indicators of actual practice, and he is constantly supplementing the legal side of things with illustrations from widely chosen contemporary writings.

A summary of the rights of women under United States laws is given on pages 174-235, the states being taken up separately in alphabetical order. The summary is full and valuable. The book ends with *General Considerations* (pp. 236-287) in support of woman suffrage.

- HOWARD, CLIFFORD. *Why Man Needs Woman's Ballot.* Reprinted from the Los Angeles Graphic. New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association. 16 pp. Two for 5 cents.

The city housekeeper argument in an exaggerated form: "Such success as our men-governed cities have met

with is due entirely to the fact that the women have come to the help of the men and have given them of their knowledge and training and judgment."

- * KELLEY, FLORENCE. *What Women Might Do with the Ballot: The Abolition of Child Labor.* New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association. 8 pp. 5 cents.

- ** LAWRENCE, EMMELINE PETHICK, and GILMAN, CHARLOTTE PERKINS. *Does a Man Support His Wife?* New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association. 5 cents.

Very able arguments on both sides. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence regards the hard work done by the working-man's wife as proof that she is not supported by him. Mrs. Gilman says that from a practical point of view the wife is supported by her husband, because "the income of a married woman is by no means relative to her own economic exertions, but (a) to her husband's economic exertions, and (b) to his good pleasure."

- *** LINDSEY, JUDGE BEN B. *Reply to Anti-Suffragists,* at a meeting held under the auspices of the Equal Franchise Society in the Assembly Chamber, Albany, N. Y., February 24, 1911. New York: Equal Franchise Society. 53 pp. 5 cents.

Excellent reply, chiefly to a slanderous article by Mr. Barry on woman suffrage in Colorado.

- **** MAGOUN, JEANNE BARTHOLOW. *The Light.* New York: Mitchell Kennerley. 63 pp. \$.50. (Library of Congress.)

A book of clever, engaging little letters, showing the course of a conversion to woman suffrage, from the first

prickings of curiosity to the final enthusiasm. It is by reading the anti-suffrage tracts sent her by her friend that the writer of the letters discovers she is a suffragist.

"One tract . . . spoke with high approval of the mission women had in influencing their husbands to vote the way they thought best (one can't help wondering in such a case who votes the husband's way). . . . It seems all one to me to sell your vote to please your wife, or for two dollars, or for a dish of macaroni."

- *** MILLER, ALICE DUER. *The Blue Arch*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 335 pp. \$1.20. (Library of Congress.)

A very readable novel, well calculated to win over conservative opinion on the woman question. The heroine is an astronomer, and devotes herself to her work against the wishes of her family. She is unconventional also in that she does fully half of the wooing herself. But whatever she does is done quite simply and without bravado, and her gentle candor cannot fail to charm. The book never becomes unpleasantly didactic.

- * PANKHURST, E. SYLVIA. *The Suffragette: The History of the Women's Militant Suffrage Movement*. New York: Sturgis & Walton. 517 pp. \$1.50. (Library of Congress.)

A history of the militant movement down to the year 1911. The events are recorded with such fullness of detail that the average person will not find the book very readable, but the suffrage worker will be glad to have this complete statement of the facts. The account of the trial of Mrs. Pankhurst, Christabel Pankhurst and Mrs. Drummond, given in Chapter XV, is very interesting. There is a good index.

PORRITT, ANNIE G. *The Causes of the Revolt of the Women of England*. New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association. 8 pp. 3 cents.

This pamphlet is chiefly an account of injustices to women that were done away with before the end of the last century—the lack of property rights for married women, etc. It is not clear how these evils caused the militant revolt.

- * PORRITT, ANNIE G. *The Militant Movement in England*. New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association. 14 pp. Two for 5 cents.

History of the movement and explanation of the renewed agitation in November, 1911.

- ** PORRITT, ANNIE G. *Votes and Babies*. New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association. 7 pp. 1 cent.

An uncommonly effective exposition of the reasons why mothers' votes are needed. "With government and politics touching the women, the home and the children at a hundred new points, and pressing heavily in places which fifty years ago were unaffected by government, . . . all these aspects of politics are neglected. . . . Men do not concern themselves about the political questions which are of chief importance to the home, because the care of the home is not their business; and women are also negligent of them, because these are political questions and politics is the business of the men."

- * REMBAUGH, BERTHA. *The Political Status of Women in the United States: A Digest of the Laws concerning Women in the Various States and Territories*. New

York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 164 pp.
(Library of Congress.)

"Each state is dealt with upon one fixed plan:—the situation as to general suffrage is first given in the words of the particular constitution, then follow the constitutional and statutory regulations of special and local suffrage, such as the municipal, school, and tax votes, with court decisions defining the political position of women. Finally, under each caption, the office-holding rights, both appointive and elective, are set forth."

ROE, CLIFFORD G. *What Women Might Do with the Ballot: The Abolition of the White Slave Traffic.* New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association. 9 pp. 5 cents.

*** SCHREINER, OLIVE. *Woman and Labor.* New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co. 299 pp. \$1.25. (Library of Congress.)

In the first two chapters a vivid contrast is drawn between the industrious life of women in the past and the comparative idleness of women in the present. The rapid departure of "home industries" from the home threatens us with a state of sex parasitism, in which women will obtain support through sex functions alone. The remedy is, not that the industries be brought back into the home, but that women go out into the world to work, and that they be given the same freedom of choice that men have. "We claim, to-day, all labor for our province." The chapter on *Sex Differences* develops further the principle of equality of opportunity. There is a good deal of vagueness as to how the remaining home industries are to be carried on and nothing is said about the bringing up of the children. But the book is confessedly fragmentary. Its value lies not so much in its

constructive thought as in its emotional appeal and in its flashes of keen criticism.

STEVENS, ISAAC N. *An American Suffragette*. New York: William Rickey & Co. 248 pp. (Library of Congress.)

A commonplace melodramatic novel in which, as in Mrs. Atherton's *Julia France*, feminism (being the strongest reform movement of the day) is made to serve as a carrier for various less popular "faiths"—astrology, telepathy, Christian Science, etc. The idea is that "the present tremendous progressive movement in the world is spiritual and every phase of it is interdependent upon every other element." The specially close connection between women and spiritualism lies, apparently, in the fact that women are spiritual and spiritualism is spiritual.

***** THOMAS, M. CAREY, President of Bryn Mawr College.
A New-Fashioned Argument for Woman Suffrage.
New York: National College Equal Suffrage League.
21 pp. 5 cents.

An admirable presentation of the working woman's need of the ballot, well calculated to overcome the indifference of women. There are copious corroborative footnotes giving statistics and authoritative statements of facts (see especially the note on pp. 5-6, on the effect of the ballot upon wages).

"In the past we have no single instance of any class of men with the ballot legislating fairly for any other class of men without the ballot. How then can the men of the world all working and all voting protect the special interests of the voteless women of the world who are emerging as workers millions strong on the surface of our human bee-hive? . . . If the vote has been indispensable as a protection in the past, it will be still more

indispensable in the future because modern socialistic legislation will increasingly control employers and employed."

WARD, EDWARD J. *Women Should Mind Their Own Business*. New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association. 8 pp. Two for 5 cents.

"As we have come away from barbarism, . . . government has become more and more the organization and control of the means of human service, the promotion of human welfare. In other words, government has become more and more the organization of woman's sphere."

Votes for Women a Success: As told by the Mayors in the Suffrage States. New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association. 43 pp. 3 cents.

Each mayor's reply to the list of questions sent out is given separately, and there is also a tabulated list of answers. The mayors are all enthusiastic in their approval of woman suffrage, commending women as honest, public-spirited and intelligent voters. The approval is so wholesale, however, that it sounds a little mechanical.

1912

- ** ABBOTT, EDITH, PH.D., and BRECKENRIDGE, SOPHONISBA P., LL.B., PH.D. *The Wage-Earning Woman and the State: A Reply to Miss Minnie Bronson*. Boston: Boston Equal Suffrage Association for Good Government. 22 pp. 10 cents.

A typical example of the fallacious arguments used by Miss Bronson and examined in this pamphlet is the statement that certain non-suffrage states have statutes prohibiting the exclusion of women from occupations on

account of sex. "Miss Bronson argues that the women in the suffrage states ought not to have the right to vote because they have not passed laws which would be entirely superfluous in any state where women shared in the government."

*** ADDAMS, JANE. *Why Women Should Vote*. New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association. 20 pp. Two for 5 cents.

ATHERTON, GERTRUDE. *Julia France and her Times: A Novel*. New York: The Macmillan Co. 533 pp. (Library of Congress.)

The heroine of this novel is supposed to be the most brilliant figure among the English suffragettes, and a large part of the book is devoted to an account of her militant activities—heckling, speech-making, and going to prison. But the woman suffrage theme is interwoven with occult lore of various kinds—telepathy, presentiments, astral bodies, "the subconscious or instinctive mind," astrological "science," etc. The combination is not a happy one. One cannot take much interest in a heroine who embraces the suffrage cause in order to fulfil an astrological prediction, and abandons it (and marries the slangiest of Americans) because she has worked out a new reading of her destiny. Incidentally, the many brilliant people in the book would seem, if judged by their own words, to be of an uncommon dullness.

* BEARD, CHARLES A. *The Common Man and the Franchise*. New York: Men's League for Woman Suffrage. 4 pp. Two for 5 cents.

"Every argument which can be adduced in favor of allowing anybody except kings to share in the government can be employed in favor of women. The social and

economic conditions which underlay the movement for manhood suffrage form the foundation for woman suffrage."

- ** BJÖRKMAN, FRANCES MAULE. *Where Women Vote*. New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association. 39 pp. 5 cents.

The facts about woman suffrage in each suffrage country or state are given under the following heads: history (of how the vote was won); extent of woman vote; office holding; effect upon legislation. There is a list of the sources from which the facts were obtained.

- * BJÖRKMAN, FRANCES MAULE. *Why Women Want to Vote*. New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association. 12 pp. Two for 5 cents.

Shows how woman's efficiency as housekeeper and mother is hampered by her not having a vote.

- *** BLACKWELL, ALICE STONE. "*Militant Methods*." New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association. 14 pp. Two for 5 cents.

The best short history and defense of the militant movement in England.

- CATT, CARRIE CHAPMAN. *Do You Know?* Revised and extended. New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association. 12 pp. Two for 5 cents.

- CRAIG-WENTWORTH, MARION. *The Flower Shop. A Play in Three Acts*. Boston: Richard G. Badger. 117 pp. (Library of Congress.)

The heroine asserts the economic independence of women by refusing to marry the man she loves until he consents to her going on with her flower shop. She also

does a great deal of proselytising for the same cause. The principles of the play are good, but they are reiterated too often. The characters are wooden, and there is no really telling dialogue or situation.

CRAIGIE, MARY E. *Christian Citizenship*. Would the Extension of Suffrage to Women Raise the Standard of Christian Citizenship? If so, should not our Clergy and the Church Give their Support to this Reform Movement? New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association. 14 pp. Two for 5 cents.

A childish piece of writing.

** EASTMAN, MAX. *Values of the Vote*. New York: The Men's League for Woman Suffrage. 12 pp. Two for 5 cents.

Acute criticism of Roosevelt's attitude towards woman suffrage as expressed shortly before in the *Outlook*. "When one specially points out that women confront all the great problems that men confront to-day, and then says that woman suffrage is not important . . . he must unconsciously believe . . . either that suffrage in general is not important, or else that women in general are not important . . . In so far as he is a public character and a man of affairs, his instinctive attitude towards *women in general* is to think that they are not of first-hand importance. That will continue to be his instinctive attitude *until women in general have become his constituents*."

** FAWCETT, MILLICENT GARRETT. *Women's Suffrage: A Short History of a Great Movement*. London: T. C. & E. C. Jack. 94 pp.

A useful, concise little history, representing the non-militant attitude of the National Union of Women's

Suffrage Societies, of which Mrs. Fawcett is president. Chapter V—*The Anti-Suffragists*—contains much good argumentative matter.

- * GOLDMARK, PAULINE, GOLDMARK, JOSEPHINE, and KELLEY, FLORENCE. *The Truth about Wage-Earning Women and the State: A Reply to Miss Minnie Bronson*. New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association. 8 pp. Two for 5 cents.

A reply to two statements made in an anti-suffrage pamphlet—that women are more generously protected by law in the non-suffrage than in the suffrage states, and that in all the states wage-earning women are better protected by law than wage-earning men.

- * HARPER, IDA HUSTED. *How Six States Won Woman Suffrage*. New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association. 14 pp. Two for 5 cents.
- * HEPBURN, KATHARINE HOUGHTON. *Have You Ever Thought Why Your Mother, Wife, Sister and Daughter Are Not Allowed to Vote?* New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association. 1 p. 1 cent.

“The reason why women are not enfranchised is because, when our Constitution was made a hundred and twenty-five years ago, women were considered mentally incompetent to vote.”

HEPBURN, KATHARINE HOUGHTON. *The Revolution in Women's Work Makes Votes for Women a Practical Necessity*. New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association. 4 pp. 1 cent.

HOWE, FREDERIC C. *What the Ballot Will Do for Women and for Men.* National American Woman Suffrage Association. 10 pp.

Extravagant claims—"Women will vote in terms of human life rather than in terms of special privilege;" "men think in terms of dollars," "women think in terms of husbands, children and unborn babes. Men vote the terms they think in. Women will vote the terms they think in."

- * HOWE, MARIE JENNEY. *An Anti-Suffrage Monologue.* New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association. 10 pp. 3 cents.

Good parody of the typical anti-suffrage argument.

LINDSEY, JUDGE BEN B. *If I Were a Woman.* Reprinted from *The Housekeeper.* New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association. 8 pp. Two for 5 cents.

An effective but somewhat exaggerated statement of the politics-is-public-housekeeping argument. "The nation, the state, the municipality—these three have stepped in, assumed practical control of the family in its most intimate relations—and are *over-parents*."

- * McCULLOCH, CATHARINE WAUGH. *Guardianship of Children.* Reprinted from the *Chicago Legal News* of January 13, 1912. For sale by Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, Chicago. 6 pp. 4 cents.

A study of the guardianship laws in the different states. The legal reference is given in each case. Six states (Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Tennessee, Virginia and Maryland) make the father sole guardian, giving him the power to bequeath the guardianship to a stranger

and away from the mother. In twenty-seven states the father's sole guardianship is limited only by rights granted the surviving mother. In sixteen states the parents are joint guardians.

- * MARKINO, YOSHIO. *Miss John Bull*. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co. 166 pp. \$1.50. (Library of Congress.)

A charming semi-humorous appreciation of English-women by a Japanese artist. The last chapters are on *Suffragettes*, *My First Visit to the W. S. P. U.*, *Mrs. Fawcett*, and *The Suffragette Procession of June, 1911*. These sketches are vivid and sympathetic, and throughout the book there are many apt references to the struggle of women for equality.

- *** MARSDEN, DORA. *Bondwomen*. New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association. 14 pp. Two for 5 cents.

A reprint of one of the best articles in the *Freewoman*, (see p. 300). "Feminism would hold that it is neither desirable nor necessary for women, when they are mothers, to leave their chosen, money-earning work for any length of time. The fact that they so often do so largely rests on tradition which has to be worn down. In wearing it down vast changes must take place in social conditions, in housing, nursing, kindergarten, in the industrial world, and in the professions."

- ** MAUD, CONSTANCE ELIZABETH. *No Surrender*. New York: John Lane Co. 328 pp. \$1.50. (Library of Congress.)

The story of two typical heroines of the suffragette movement—one a mill hand and the other a woman of wealth and rank. The characters are a little too obviously

"made to order," but the story (which follows the facts almost as closely as a history) is nevertheless very interesting. There is a judicious admixture of good argument.

- * MEAD, LUCIA AMES. *What Women Might Do with the Ballot: The Abolition of the War System.* New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association. 11 pp. 5 cents.
- * PORRITT, ANNIE G. *The Political Duties of Mothers.* Hartford: Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association. 8 pp. 2 cents.

A very good exposition of the homekeeping woman's need of the suffrage. But the writer surely overrates the comparative importance of this side of the case when she says: "The newer suffrage movement [that of the twentieth century] is a movement which has its origin in the home. . . . It is not a demand put forward for the sake of exceptional or abnormal women; it is the demand of the mother, the wife, the home-maker," etc.

- ** RAYÉ-SMITH, EUGÉNIE. *Equal Suffrage Song-Sheaf.* 16 pp. 10 cents. (For sale at the office of the National Woman Suffrage Association, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York.)

Good suffrage songs set to popular tunes. The more serious ones are not quite successful, but the lighter ones are catchy and would make good marching songs.

- * SCOTT, LEROY. *Counsel for the Defense.* New York: Doubleday, Page & Co. 431 pp. \$1.20. (Library of Congress.)

A good popular novel, crude but vigorous. The heroine is a lawyer, and the outcome of the story is that

she succeeds in a great case and thereby persuades the hero that her work is as important as his and that she must continue it after their marriage.

WRIGHT, GENERAL MARCUS J. *The Social Evolution of Woman*. Philadelphia: Martin & Allardyce. 48 pp.

A pompous and ignorant paean on woman—"womanhood is the spirit of humanity, manhood its body," etc.

Catalogue and Price List of Woman Suffrage Literature and Supplies. New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association. 22 pp. Free on application.

A list of the books and pamphlets on sale at the headquarters of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York. In addition to the regular prices, prices postpaid are given, and prices by the dozen and by the hundred.

A Suffrage Answer to an Anti Platform. New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association. 1 p. 1 cent.

Detailed answer to the platform adopted by Maryland anti-suffragists.

** *The Truth versus Richard Barry*: A Refutation, paragraph by paragraph, of an anti-suffrage article entitled "What Women Have Actually Done Where They Vote," purporting to be an impartial report of an investigation into the results of equal suffrage in the (then) four equal suffrage states. New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association. 19 pp. 3 cents.

** *Twenty-five Answers to Antis*: Five-minute Speeches on Votes for Women by Eminent Suffragists. New

York: National American Woman Suffrage Association. 42 pp. 25 cents.

Almost all the speeches are good, especially those by Beatrice Forbes-Robertson Hale ("Indirect Influence is Enough"), Hutchins Hapgood ("It Would Make Women Less Attractive"), Howard B. Woolston ("Women Are Represented Now"), Griffin Barry ("It Would Create Sex Antagonism"), and Gilbert E. Roe ("There Are Too Many Votes Already").

Undated.

- **** ADDAMS, JANE. *The Modern City and the Municipal Franchise for Women*. New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association. 15 pp. Out of print. (New York Public Library.)

An admirable analysis of the problems of a modern city and their relation to women's special interests. "Most of the departments in a modern city [for example, the health department and the street-cleaning department] can be traced to woman's traditional activity; but, in spite of this, so soon as these old affairs were turned over to the care of the city, they slipped from woman's hands." "We certainly may hope for two results if the municipal franchise be granted to women: (1) an opportunity to fulfill their old obligations with the safeguards and consideration which the ballot alone can secure for them under changed conditions; and (2) the education which participation in actual affairs always brings."

BESANT, ANNIE. *On the Political Status of Women*. A lecture delivered in the Cooperative Hall, Castle Street. London: Trübner & Co. 18 pp. (New York Public Library.)

Forceful, but not calculated to win over a hostile audience. There is a passage, dealing with the appeal to biblical authority, that would certainly antagonise most readers.

BRIGHT, Mrs. JACOB, and Mrs. LEEDS. *Union of Practical Suffragists, within the Liberal Federation.* Leaflets I., III., VIII., IX., X. (New York Public Library.)

Arguments in defense of the recommendation that women Liberals should not work for candidates who are opposed to woman suffrage.

- * BRIGHT, Mrs. JACOB (hon. sec.). *Women's Franchise League Leaflets.* London: Women's Franchise League. (New York Public Library.)

These leaflets are for the most part very fragmentary, and deal with questions of immediate tactics. The third series, however, contains two very good speeches made at a conference of the League, December, 1891, by Mr. James Stanfield, M. P. and Mr. R. B. Haldane, M. P. Both of these speeches deal with the economic aspect of the question, with special reference to trades unions.

BUTLER, JOSEPHINE E., and others. *Legislative Restrictions on the Industry of Women*, considered from the Woman's Point of View. 18 pp. (New York Public Library.)

In replying to the arguments in favor of legal restrictions on women's work, the writer condemns the notion that a parliament composed of men alone is competent to legislate on matters affecting women.

- * CAMPBELL, Rev. R. J. *Some Economic Aspects of the Women's Suffrage Movement.* London: Women's Freedom League. 12 pp. 1d.

**** COBBE, FRANCES POWER. *Our Policy: An Address to Women concerning the Suffrage.* Published by the:

National Society for Women's Suffrage. London: W. Wilfred Head. 8 pp. (New York Public Library.)

This is not an argument for woman suffrage, but an appeal to women to win over public sentiment to the cause. This they can do by enlarging and ennobling their own personal ideals (by ceasing, for example, to look upon silliness and cowardice as qualities to be condoned in a woman), by "seeking for employments of the kind for which they are suited, but which have hitherto been monopolised by men," by "availing themselves with the utmost care and conscientiousness of every fragment of civil rights which has hitherto been conceded to them." The writer does not imply that women should not at the same time take active and direct measures to hasten the coming of woman suffrage. The essay is admirably written; it is both forceful and appealing.

- * DECKER, SARAH PLATT, and LINDSEY, HON. BEN B.
How It Works in Colorado. New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association. 11 pp.
Out of print. (New York Public Library.)

Judge Lindsey's testimony is strong, but he does not go much into detail.

FAWCETT, MILLICENT GARRETT. *Home and Politics*;
An address delivered at Toynbee Hall and elsewhere.
London: Women's Printing Society, Limited. 8 pp.
(Susan B. Anthony Collection, Library of Congress.)

The chief arguments are that women need the suffrage in order that they may be wise mothers and housekeepers, that they will not become less womanly, and that "the womanly and domestic side of things should weigh more and count for more in all public concerns."

GAWTHORPE, MARY E. *Votes for Men: How they were Won.* London: Woman's Press, Clement's Inn, Strand. 12 pp.

The object is to make people recognise in the woman suffrage movement "a link in the series of suffrage struggles which have taken place during the last century."

**** HARRISON, JANE E., LL.D. "*Homo Sum.*" Being a Letter to an Anti-Suffragist from an Anthropologist. London: National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. 30 pp. 3d. (For sale at the office of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York; 10 cents.)

A very interesting and original discussion of the egotism and exclusiveness of the sex instinct and the altruism of the "herd" instinct. If the sole object of life were reproduction, we should do well to emphasize sex to the utmost, but—"We want to live life, and human life, for woman as well as for man, is lived to the full only in and through the 'herd.' We want, in a word, for the sake of this fulness of life, to co-ordinate our individualistic instincts, of which sex seems to be the strongest and most exclusive, with our altruistic herd-instincts." The article should make a strong appeal to college women, since it describes the reluctant and gradual acceptance of suffragist views by a woman scientist who is herself not at all interested in politics. "I am not ashamed of my lack of interest in politics. . . . But that I failed to sympathize with a need I did not feel, of that I am truly ashamed."

"To most human beings, and these are the best of our citizens, knowledge is the outcome of desire, and is always forging on towards action—action which necessarily takes shape as increased dominion over the world of nature and humanity. . . . When women first felt the insistent

need to know, behind it, from the beginning, unconscious though they were, was for most of them the imperative impulse to act."

LAWRENCE, EMMELINE PETHICK. *The Meaning of the Woman's Movement*. London: Woman's Press, Clement's Inn, Strand. 12 pp.

Rather flowery language about "the glory of the idea of womanhood," etc.

- * LAWRENCE, F. W. PETHICK. *The Bye-Election Policy of the Women's Social and Political Union*. London: Woman's Press, Clement's Inn, Strand.

Good explanation of what the suffragettes do at the bye-elections, and why they do it.

MACMILLAN, CHRYSTAL. *The Struggle for Political Life*. London: Woman's Press. 1d.

Not particularly good.

NEWMAN, F. W. *Women's Wrongs*. Bristol and Clifton Branch of the National Society for Women's Suffrage. 4 pp. (Boston Public Library.)

PANKHURST, CHRISTABEL. *The Parliamentary Vote for Women*. Manchester: Abel Heywood & Son. 16 pp.

PHILLIPS, Mrs. WYNFORD. *Women's Suffrage*. London: Central National Society for Women's Suffrage. 8 pp. (Boston Public Library.)

- * POTTER, FRANCES SQUIRE. *Women, Economics and the Ballot*. New York: National College Equal Suffrage League. 8 pp. 5 cents.

The writer urges women to win the ballot so that they may cope more effectually with the problem of the economic independence of married women.

- *** THOMAS, THADDEUS P. *Why Equal Suffrage Has Been a Success.* Hartford: Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association. 14 pp. 15 cents.

A very good speech, presenting the usual arguments in particularly persuasive form.

- WEDGWOOD, JULIA. *The Political Claims of Women.* Published by the London National Society for Women's Suffrage. London: W. Wilfred Head. 12 pp. (Astor Library.)

A good argument, but without special character or force.

CONGRESSIONAL REPORTS.

1874

Argument before the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives upon the Petition of 600 Citizens asking for the Enfranchisement of the Women of the District of Columbia, January 21, 1874, by Francis Miller, Esq., Associate Counsel with Hon. A. G. Riddle in the cases of Sara J. Spencer vs. the Board of Registration, and Mary Webster vs. the Judges of Election, now pending in the Supreme Court of the United States. Washington, D. C.: Gibson Bros. 8 pp.

Based entirely on the fourteenth amendment. Better than most arguments of the kind, but not likely to be effective to-day.

1878

- * [*Majority Report of United States Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections, against a Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution prohibiting the several states from disfranchising United States citizens on account of sex, by Senators Wadleigh, McMillan, Ingalls, Saulsbury, Marrimon, and Hill, June 14, 1878*]; *Minority Report, from same committee, in favor of said amendment, by Senators Hoar, Mitchell, and Cameron of Wisconsin, February 1, 1879.*

Good, but not as interesting as the speeches by Senators Blair, Dolph, and Hoar in the debate of 1887.

1880

U. S. 46th Congress, 2d Session. House misc. doc. No. 20. Woman Suffrage. Arguments before the Committee on the Judiciary, January 24, 1880. 22 pp.

U. S. 47th Congress, 1st Session. Senate misc. doc. No. 74. Arguments of the Woman Suffrage delegates before the Committee on the Judiciary, January 23, 1880. 26 pp.

1882

U. S. 47th Congress, 1st Session. Senate report No. 686. Report from the Select Committee on Woman Suffrage. June 5, 1882. 6 pp.

Favorable.

1883

U. S. 47th Congress, 2d Session. House report No. 1997. Report from the Select Committee on Woman Suffrage. March 1, 1883. 1 p.

Six reasons are given for submitting a favorable report on the resolution for amendment. There is no further argument, and the reasons are not particularly well chosen.

1884

***** [*U. S. 48th Congress, 1st Session. House report No. 1330.] Views of the minority, signed by T. B. Reed, E. B. Taylor, M. A. McCoid, T. M. Browne; submitted by Mr. Reed. 3 pp.*

An admirable exposition of the case. "The anxiety felt lest they should thereby deteriorate would be an honor to human nature were it not an historical fact that the same sweet solicitude has been put up as a barrier against every progress which women have made ever since civilisation began." "Prejudices are none the less prejudices because we vaguely call them 'nature' and prate about what nature has forbidden when we only mean that the thing we are opposing has not been hitherto done. 'Nature' forbade a steamship to cross the Atlantic at the very moment it was crossing, and yet it arrived just the same."

U. S. 48th Congress, 1st Session. Senate report No. 399. Report from the Committee on Woman Suffrage. March 28, 1884. 3 pp.

Submits the question to the people of the several states through their respective legislatures. Appended are "the remarks made before this committee on March 7, 1884, and also the remarks made before the senate judiciary committee" in 1880.

There is nothing of value in this report.

1886

U. S. 49th Congress, 1st Session. Senate report No. 70. Report from the Select Committee on Woman Suffrage. February 2, 1886.

This report is submitted by Mr. Blair. It is good, but not as forcible as Mr. Blair's speech in the senate debate of 1886-7. The appendix is the same as that given in the preceding report (1884).

[U. S. 49th Congress, 1st Session. House report No. 2289. Woman Suffrage. Report from the Committee on the Judiciary, May 6, 1886.] Views of the minority, favoring suffrage to woman (pp. 1-3).

Not remarkable.

1886-7

**** *Debate on Woman Suffrage in the Senate of the United States, 2d Session, 49th Congress, December 8, 1886, and January 25, 1887, by Senators H. W. Blair, J. E. Brown, J. N. Dolph, G. G. Vest and George F. Hoar. (The debate is on pp. 4-43, 50-54, and 84-85. The intervening matter consists of documents that have been noticed elsewhere.)*

All the speeches in favor of the amendment are excellent. The objections of the other speakers are extremely well

answered. The debate as a whole—including the objections, which are full of weak sentimentality—is very convincing. Senator Hoar says (p. 85): "But the senator [Mr. Vest] thought it was unspeakably absurd that a woman with her sentiment and emotional nature and liability to be moved by passion and feeling should hold the office of senator. Why, Mr. President, the Senator's own speech is a refutation of its own argument. Everybody knows that my honorable friend from Missouri is one of the most brilliant men in this country. He is a logician, he is an orator, he is a man of large experience, he is a lawyer entrusted with large interests; yet when he was called upon to put forth this great effort of his this afternoon and to argue the question which he thinks so clear, what did he do? He furnished the gush and the emotion and the eloquence, but when he came to any argument he had to call upon two women, Mrs. Leonard and Mrs. Whitney, to supply all that."

1888

Hearing before the Committee on Woman Suffrage. United States Senate, April 2, 1888. 21 pp.

The chief speeches are by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Frances E. Willard.

1889

U. S. 50th Congress, 2d Session. Senate report No. 2543. Report from the Committee on Woman Suffrage. February 7, 1889. 67 pp.

The report itself (8 pp.), submitted by Senator Blair, is not very valuable now, because a large part of it consists of a review of the condition and extent of the woman suffrage movement at that time. The appendix contains:

I. Hearing before the committee on woman suffrage, United States Senate, April 2, 1888, q. v.

II. Hearing before the committee on woman suffrage, United States Senate, January 24, 1889. The speeches in this hearing are not good, but there is a good essay (pp. 44-47) by John Hooker, of Hartford, on *Judge Hunt and the Right of Trial by Jury*. Here the trial of Miss Anthony for voting is discussed, and the action of Judge Hunt in taking the case from the jury is shown to have been contrary to all rules of law.

1890

U. S. 51st Congress, 1st Session. Senate report No. 2254. Woman Suffrage. Report from the Committee on the Judiciary. May 29, 1890. Submitted by Mr. Caswell. 4 pp.

Not very good.

U. S. 51st Congress, 1st Session. Senate report No. 1576. Report from the Committee on Woman Suffrage. August 12, 1890. Submitted by Mr. Blair. 3 pp.

Good, but not noteworthy.

1892

Hearing of the Woman Suffrage Association before the House Committee on the Judiciary. Monday, January 18, 1892. 8 pp.

The addresses are by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucy Stone, Isabella Beecher Hooker, and Susan B. Anthony. Mrs. Stanton's address is interesting, though not calculated to win over a hostile audience. It lays chief stress on "the isolation of every human soul and the necessity of self-dependence," "the immeasurable solitude of self," etc.

Miss Anthony points out that Congress will not settle the matter if it recommends the question to the consideration of the states.

1893

*U. S. 52d Congress, 2d Session. Senate report No. 1143.
Report from the Select Committee on Woman Suffrage.
January 4, 1893.*

Not well expressed.

1894

*U. S. 53d Congress, 2d Session. Senate misc. doc. No. 121.
Hearing before the Committee on Woman Suffrage.
February 21, 1894. 31 pp.*

Contains nothing remarkable.

1896

****** *Report of Hearing before the U. S. Senate Select Committee
on Woman Suffrage. January 28, 1896. 23 pp.*

The only noteworthy speech is that of Miss Helen Morris Lewis, of North Carolina (pp. 15-17). She recounts her experience in a village where she talked to the people about woman suffrage, visiting every house and also talking to people on the street. She describes forcibly the great contrast between the interest taken by the men and the complete lack of receptivity to ideas shown by the women. This contrast, she says, illustrates the truth of Ambassador Bayard's assertion that "the result of the destruction of personal freedom is the enfeeblement of the moral fiber and the paralysis of individual, intellectual and moral growth." A good lesson for those who talk about the "influence" of women being represented in their husbands' votes. Better no influence at all than a dead-weight such as this.

- * *Hearing of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.* Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives. Washington, January 28, 1896. 21 pp.

The hearing consists of seventeen short speeches. The only one that is at all noteworthy is that by Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Stetson [Gilman] (p. 5).

1898

Hearing before the Select Committee on Woman Suffrage, United States Senate, February 15, 1898. 24 pp.

The best speeches are:

- *** *The Nature of a Republican Form of Government.* By William Lloyd Garrison. (2 pp.)

- * *Woman as an Economic Factor.* By Harriet Stanton Blatch. (2 pp.)

The Working Woman's Need of the Ballot. By Florence Kelley. (2 pp.)

- * *House of Representatives. Before the Committee on the Judiciary,* February 15, 1898. Hearing on House Joint Resolution 68, providing as follows:

"Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"Section 2. The congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

The best speech is *The Indifference of Women*, by Alice Stone Blackwell (p. 19).

1900

Hearing before the United States Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage, held in the marble room of the

United States Senate on the 13th day of February, 1900, at 10 o'clock A. M. 45 pp.

The best speeches are by Mrs. Harriet Stanton Blatch (pp. 20-22) and Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt (pp. 32-36). But these are not as good as others by the same speakers.

Woman Suffrage.—Hearing before the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives, February 13, 1900. 35 pp.

The best speech is that of Miss Elizabeth Sheldon Tillinghast of Connecticut, on *The Economic Basis of Woman Suffrage* (pp. 7-9).

1902

Hearing before the Select Committee on Woman Suffrage, United States Senate, on the joint resolution (S. R. 53) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women. 39 pp.

The chief speech is by Miss Alice Stone Blackwell (pp. 19-30). It answers the *Remonstrance* of the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women. The answers are adequate to the occasion; but, since the objections are uncommonly weak, the answers have no chance to refute the more formidable anti-suffrage arguments. There is also a good short speech by Mrs. Lucretia L. Blankenburg (p. 7).

**** U. S. Congress. *Hearing before the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives, Tuesday, February 18, 1902.***

The speakers are Miss Vida Goldstein (of Australia), Madam Sofja Levovna Friedland (of Russia), Mrs. Emmy Evald (of Sweden), Mrs. Gudrun Drawson (of Norway), Mrs. Ida M. Weaver (of Idaho), Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt,

and Mrs. Florence Fenwick Miller (of England). The only very good speech is Mrs. Catt's (pp. 13-17), though Mrs. Miller's and Miss Vida Goldstein's are both good. The other speakers merely present facts and testimonials, and do not present them well. Mrs. Catt asks that the House be advised to appoint a committee to investigate the results of woman suffrage in operation.

1904

- ** U. S. Congress. House. Committee on the Judiciary.**
Hearing before the Committee, February 16, 1904.

In this report there are two very good speeches—that of Miss Ellis Meredith, of Denver, Colorado (pp. 3-5), and the concluding statement, by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt. Miss Meredith gives a list of the laws for the benefit and protection of children, etc., that have been made since woman suffrage was inaugurated in Colorado. The few laws on such matters that existed before that time (1893) are also given, presenting a striking contrast. Mrs. Catt's chief point is this: since the framers of the constitution were led by the peculiar circumstances of the case (the fact that republican government was on trial, etc.) to make the constitution almost iron-clad, and since these circumstances no longer exist, Congress ought to do what it can to facilitate the making of amendments.

1908

Hearing before the Select Committee on Woman Suffrage of the United States Senate on the joint resolution (S. R. 47) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing that the right of citizens to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex. 24 pp.

A good speech by Miss Laura Clay (pp. 20-22), dealing with the objection that women do not want the ballot.

- * *Committee on the Judiciary. House of Representatives; 60th Congress. Hearing on Woman Suffrage. H. J. Res. 112. 50 pp.*

The speeches are for the most part not remarkable, but the statement of Senator Owen of Oklahoma (pp. 13-18), which includes answers to questions put by members of the judiciary committee, is very good.

1909

- * *Memorial of Mr. Vere Goldthwaite, a natural-born citizen of the United States, and a resident of the city of Boston, in the commonwealth of Massachusetts. January 5, 1909.—Referred to the Committee on the Judiciary and ordered to be printed. 60th Congress, 2d Session, Senate document No. 630.*

An ably constructed argument, somewhat stiffly expressed. It deals entirely with the legal aspect of the question (particularly with the clause in the Constitution which guarantees a republican form of government to the people of each state). It is much better than most arguments of the kind.

1910

SHAFROTH, JOHN F. *Should Women Have Equal Suffrage?* Statement of Hon. John F. Shafroth, Governor of Colorado, before the Committee on Woman Suffrage of the United States. Hearing on Senate Joint Resolution 81 proposing an Amendment to the Constitution providing that the rights of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex. Washington: Government Printing Office. 8 pp.

- **** *Committee on the Judiciary. House of Representatives; 61st Congress. Hearing on Woman Suffrage, April 19, 1910.*

The speakers are Hon. Atterson W. Rucker (representative from Colorado), Mrs. Susan W. Fitzgerald, Mrs. Florence Kelley, Arthur E. Holder, Mrs. Elizabeth Schauss (factory inspector of Ohio), Mrs. Raymond Robins (president of the National Women's Trade Union League), Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, Mrs. Laura J. Graddick, and Miss Laura Clay. The hearing is a very good one. The best speeches are those by Mrs. Kelley and Mrs. Robins.

1912

- ***** *Woman Suffrage. Hearings before a Joint Committee of the Committee on the Judiciary and the Committee on Woman Suffrage, March 13, 1912. 32 pp.*

An excellent hearing. The chief speakers are Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Mrs. Susan Walker Fitzgerald, Mrs. Harriet Burton Laidlaw and Mrs. Elsie Cole Phillips.

LEAFLETS.

I. POLITICAL EQUALITY SERIES.*

- ** ADDAMS, JANE. *Women and Public Housekeeping.*

Extract from *The Modern City and the Municipal Franchise for Women.* See p. 152.

BJÖRKMAN, FRANCES MAULE. *Woman Suffrage in Norway.*

BLACKWELL, ALICE STONE. *Do Teachers Need the Ballot?*

Contrast between the salaries of women teachers in suffrage and non-suffrage states.

BLACKWELL, ALICE STONE. *Gains in Equal Suffrage.*

A chronological list (including the acquirement of school suffrage and municipal suffrage).

- ** BLACKWELL, ALICE STONE. *Is Voting an Industry?*

Good answer to the people who say that the exclusion of women from politics is in accordance with the principle of division of labor. "The 'specialization of industry' has no bearing on the question. Voting is not an industry. The progress of civilisation has not been to restrict the suffrage more and more narrowly, but to extend it to one class after another. . . . And the best government is found where the largest number of people actively

* Leaflets published by the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Sample set, 10 cents; complete set, 20 cents; 100 of any one kind, 15 cents.

perform their political duties, not where they neglect to vote and leave public affairs to be managed by a small class of 'professional politicians.'"

BLACKWELL, ALICE STONE. *Ministers on Votes for Women*, according to Mrs. Howe's census of clergymen in Equal Suffrage States.

BLACKWELL, ALICE STONE. *Remarks on "The Ladies' Battle."*

Rather intolerant.

BLACKWELL, ALICE STONE. *Voting and Fighting.*

BLACKWELL, ALICE STONE. *Why Women Should Vote.*

*** BLACKWELL, ALICE STONE. *"Women Do Not Want It."*

Gives striking instances to show how bitterly the women of half a century ago were opposed to progress in women's education, property rights, etc. "All this merely shows that human nature is conservative, and that it is fully as conservative in women as in men." "Not one of them [the changes in woman's status] would have been made to this day if it had been necessary to wait till the majority of women asked for it."

BREWER, JUSTICE DAVID J. *Summing Up the Case for Woman Suffrage.*

DECKER, SARAH PLATT, *on Equal Suffrage.*

**** DENNETT, MARY WARE. *The Real Point.*

"What is required, at present, of a man before he can vote in the United States?

He must be 21 years old.

He must be native born or naturalized.

In some states he must be able to read.

That is all.

He is not asked whether he will use his vote.

He is not asked if all men want to vote.

He is not asked if he thinks the laws need changing.

He is not asked if he will promise to better the laws.

He is not asked to give statistics showing whether men have previously used their votes to better the laws."

"Just so long as the opposition can keep the suffragists busy giving promises and proof that women will use the vote to good advantage when they get it, just so long will the opposition keep on asking for more promises and more proof."

DIX, DOROTHY, *on Woman's Ballot.*

Not good.

FITZGERALD, SUSAN W. *Have We a Democracy?*

* GRENFELL, HELEN L. *The Ballot and the Schools.*

* HOPKINS, MARY ALDEN. *Woman's Place.*

Women cannot protect their homes if they stay inside their houses.

JOHNSTON, MARY. *The Reason Why.*

*** KELLEY, FLORENCE. *Persuasion or Responsibility?*

After showing how lax is the enforcement of laws for the protection of children in New York City, Mrs. Kelley says: "The same eager interest which has placed the child labor law, the compulsory school attendance law, the newsboy law, and the juvenile court law upon the statute

books, would elect a mayor pledged to the enforcement of those laws. . . . Until women are enabled to perform their full duty in the selection of officials who enforce laws, their efforts to persuade legislators must remain in large degree fruitless."

- ** KELLEY, FLORENCE. *Woman Suffrage: Its Relation to Working Women and Children.*

In spite of many years of effort on the part of the Consumers' League of New York, the Mercantile Employees' Law, passed in 1896, has not yet been made effective. "If the legislators who, year after year, have failed to give the State Commissioner of Labor power to enforce this law, had been forced to depend for their continued political career upon the votes of women, this enforcing bill could never have been kept indefinitely hanging."

- ** LINDSEY, JUDGE, *on Suffrage.*

- ** MEAD, EDWIN D. *Suffrage and Soldiering.*

Good answer to the objection that government rests on force and therefore women should have no part in it. After showing how far we are from applying this theory of government to men, the writer points out the irony of Kipling's proclaiming just at this time that "the female of the species is more deadly than the male."

- MEREDITH, ELLIS. *What Difference Does it Make to the Women?*

Contrast between suffrage and non-suffrage states in the matter of guardianship of children and inheritance laws.

- ** OBENCHAIN, LIDA CALVERT. *Indirect Influence.*

- * OBENCHAIN, LIDA CALVERT. *The "Unanswerable Argument" Answered.*

The indifference-of-women objection is met with a reminder that all struggles for reform—even such a manifest reform as the abolition of child labor—encounter an enormous mass of indifference among average good American people.

- * O'HAGAN, ANNE. *Do Men Represent Women?*

Shows how in the past "men, legislating as a class for women as a class, have done exactly what every ruling class has always done throughout the history of the world—they have discriminated against the class which had no legal voice."

- O'SULLIVAN, MARY KENNEY. *Why the Working Woman Needs the Vote.*

- PHELAN, DR. RAYMOND V. *Living Wages and Respectability.*

The need of trade unions and the suffrage for working women.

- POTTER, FRANCES SQUIRE. *The Direct Way.*

- ** THOMAS, M. CAREY, President of Bryn Mawr College. *Woman's Ballot.*

Extract from a speech made in 1906. See p. 101.

- * *Bees, Clams and Children.*

Striking instances showing how little the city, state and national governments are willing to spend for the welfare of children. "If any other department is scrimped it means antagonizing voters; but the school children, the mothers and the teachers have no vote."

California Enlightens the World as to Woman Suffrage.

* *Eminent People Declare for Equal Suffrage.*

Well chosen quotations.

Facts and Dates to Remember.

Gives the number of women eligible to vote, and the percentage of women who do vote, in each suffrage country and state.

More Eminent People Declare for Equal Suffrage.

The Newspapers on the California Victory.

* *Pigs versus Boys.*

An editorial in the *Journal of Education* condemning the refusal of Congress to appropriate \$3,000 for the employment of an expert in the welfare of children.

* *The Secret Enemy.*

Copy of a circular sent out by the Brewers' and Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association of Oregon to every retail liquor seller in the state, asking him to promise to get twenty-five votes against the woman suffrage amendment.

Some Catholic Opinions.

* *Testimony from Colorado.*

Testimony from Idaho.

Testimony from Wyoming.

The Truth about Colorado.

* *Twenty Facts about Woman Suffrage.*

Chiefly statements of the percentages of women voting in the suffrage states.

Two Workings of a Bad Law.

Injustice caused by laws giving the father sole guardianship of children.

Woman Suffrage Endorsed.

Resolutions adopted by the American Federation of Labor, and a list of other organizations that have endorsed woman suffrage.

* *Woman Suffrage in New Zealand.*

Extracts from an article by Charles Edward Russell and a speech by Hon. W. P. Reeves, agent-general of New Zealand.

II. RAINBOW SERIES.*

** *About Voting: Who Gave Men Their Right to Vote and When? Who Will Give Women Their Right to Vote and When?*

"Who can give women their right to vote? Congress can do it by a national amendment. State Legislatures can do it by state amendments. When will they do it? Ask their constituents."

"Woman Suffrage Co-Equal with Man Suffrage."

Woman suffrage endorsed by federations of labor, and by Samuel Gompers, John Mitchell and Keir Hardie.

*** *The Woman's Reason: Because.*

Ten excellent reasons tersely and forcefully expressed.

* Published by the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Sample set, 1 cent; 100 for 10 cents; 1,000 for \$1.00. These leaflets are printed in large type on colored paper and are especially good for distribution at meetings. They are to be had in German, Italian, Bohemian and Yiddish, at the same price as in English.

**** *Women in the Home.***

"Men are responsible for the [sanitary] conditions under which the children live, but we hold women responsible for the results of those conditions. If we hold women responsible for the results, must we not, in simple justice, let them have something to say as to what these conditions shall be?"

III. LEAFLETS FREE ON APPLICATION.

- * *Ward Organization—A Simple Method.* New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association. 4 p.

Description of the work of the Woman Suffrage Party of New York City.

- ** *What to Do.*** New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association. 1 p.

Suggestions to beginners in suffrage work.

- * *What to Read on Suffrage.* Monthly bulletin. New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association. 4 pp.

Gives a useful list of current magazine articles of special interest to suffragists; also a list of suffrage periodicals and a list of books on suffrage, civics, etc.

- * *Political District Organization.*

The plan recommended to state suffrage associations by the Official Board of the N. A. W. S. A. is the enrollment, without dues, of the adult population in favor of woman suffrage, in every political district in the state. A full description of this method of organization is given.

PLAYS.*

COFFIN, CAROLINE. *The Home Thrust*. A Comedy in One Act. 11 pp. Rental, 10 cents. Fee for production, \$2.50.

An anti-suffragist condescends to ask a scrub-woman for her signature to a petition, and meets with an unexpected rebuff. A weak play, though it contains some good dialogue.

CLARK, S. L. W. *Entertainment to Make Votes for Women*. 16 pp. 10 cents. No fee for production.

"The scene represents a discussion of a bill to enfranchise men in a state legislature in the year 2099." Contains some good parody, but on the whole is rather dull.

** EASTMAN, IDA RAUH. *The Last Trick*. A Play in One Act. 11 pp. Rental, 10 cents. Fee for production, \$5.00.

Most of the suffrage plays are merely satirical farces, good or bad, but this is a thoroughly realistic bit of drama. It "shows the conversion of a woman trade unionist to a belief in the working woman's need of the ballot, through

* A catalogue of these plays may be obtained on application to the National American Woman Suffrage Association, 505 Fifth Avenue. The catalogue gives a short synopsis of each play and states the number of men and the number of women in the cast, and the time taken for performance.

Plays in book form are entered above: *A Doll's House*, by Ibsen (p. 50); *A Pageant of Great Women*, by Cicely Hamilton (p. 127); *Press Cuttings*, by Bernard Shaw (p. 122); and *The Flower Shop*, by Marion Craig-Wentworth (p. 145).

a trick by means of which an unsuspecting young girl is made to testify before a state legislature against the interests of her fellow workers."

- * FARGO, KATE MILLS. *A Voting Demonstration, or An Election in Primerville.* 15 pp. \$2.00.

A good piece for performance at women's clubs in any state where equal franchise has been recently secured. The scene is a polling station, and the election laws are impressed upon the minds of the audience through the correction of mistakes such as are likely to be made by new voters. The play was written for use in California, but can easily be adapted to fit the election laws of another state.

- GERBERDING, ELIZABETH. *Scissors or Sword.* 18 pp. Rental, 10 cents. Fee for production, \$5.00.

The first part is a crude and obvious burlesque on ineffective women's clubs; the last part is what the *Freewoman* calls a "dislocated suffrage speech."

- ** GLOVER, EVELYN. *Miss Appleyard's Awakening.* A Play in One Act. London: Actresses' Franchise League. 20 pp. 15 cents. Fee for production, \$5.00.

- **** HAMILTON, CICELY, and ST. JOHN, CHRISTOPHER. *How the Vote Was Won.* London: The Woman's Press. 29 pp. 15 cents. Fee for production, \$5.00.

An excellent farce. The vote is won through a general strike of all self-supporting women, who descend upon their nearest male relatives and demand support until they are given the suffrage.

- ** HAMILTON, CICELY, and ST. JOHN, CHRISTOPHER. *The Pot and the Kettle*. 16 pp. 15 cents. Fee for production, \$5.00.

An excellent little comedy, but not particularly effective as propaganda since the situation (the predicament of an anti-suffragist arrested for assault and battery upon a suffragist) has not much significance.

HAMMOND, JOSEPHINE. *Everywoman's Road: A Morality of Woman, Creator, Worker, Waster, Joy-giver and Keeper of the Flame*. Cambridge, Mass.: Agency for Unpublished Plays.

A morality play of woman's progress, written in an extraordinarily uncouth verse which the writer designates as "free-running iambics."

- * HARRADEN, BEATRICE. *Lady Geraldine's Speech*. A Comedietta. London: The Women Writers' Suffrage League. 31 pp. 15 cents. Fee for production, \$5.00.

A clever little skit about an anti-suffragist who has her speech written for her by a suffrage leader.

HATTON, BESSIE. *Before Sunrise*. 24 pp. 15 cents. Fee for production, \$5.00.

A play of the dawn of woman's freedom. The heroine is forced into a marriage arranged by her parents, but intimations are given of the coming enlargement of women's opportunities.

- * HOWE, MARIE JENNEY (Mrs. Frederic C. Howe). *The Perfect Lady*. A One Act Play. 17 pp. Rental, 10 cents. Fee for production, \$5.00.

An amusing scene in which the proprietor of a beauty parlor is converted by a suffragist. The timely self-

exposure of "the perfect lady," Mrs. Fluff Duff, strengthens the conversion, and the beauty doctor finally decides to be a woman, not a lady, and promises to march in the suffrage parade.

- ***** KIPER, FLORENCE. *Cinderelline; or, The Little Red Skipper*. 23 pp. Rental, 10 cents. Fee for production, \$5.00.

A delightful poetic drama in which the new woman, man's true comrade, is the modern Cinderella, and the domestic drudge and the sex parasite are the wicked sisters. The play is very well suited to presentation by college students, as the one male part (a young poet) can easily be taken by a girl.

- ** LEWIS, EMILY SARGENT. *A Dream of Brave Women*. 22 pp. 10 cents. Fee for use in dramatic representation, \$5.00.

Verses to be read in connection with tableaux representing women famous in American history. Many of the poems are very good, especially those on the early heroines—Priscilla, Margaret Brent, Abigail Adams and Molly Pitcher. The last stanza of *Priscilla*:

"Give heed, young man, to the warning;
Do your own wooing in person,
Speak for yourself and no other.
And when election day cometh
Speak for yourself and no other,
Don't try to speak for Priscilla."

- LEWIS, EMILY SARGENT. *Election Day, 1912*. 15 pp. 15 cents. Fee for production, \$5.00.

A play of slight substance and rather forced cleverness. But there is some good talk by an Irish washerwoman who is called in as a warning example of ignorance. She knows nothing about the tariff, but has had personal experience of injustice to women.

MICHELSON, MIRIAM. *Help Us to Help Ourselves*. 16 pp. 10 cents. Fee for production, \$5.00.

A suffrage tract made into a rather crude little play.

** MILHOLLAND, INEZ. *If Women Voted*. 2 pp. Rental, 10 cents. Fee for production, \$2.50.

An excellent lively bit of Irish dialogue, in which a woman makes her husband see why she is going to vote against the ward boss, even though he "paid for Patsy's funeral."

MOFFAT, GRAHAM. *The Maid and the Magistrate*. A Duologue in One Act. 18 pp. 10 cents. Fee for production, \$2.50.

A magistrate proposes to a girl who, it turns out, is one of the suffragettes about to be tried in his court. The girl wheedles him into promising that they shall all have light sentences. Fairly good as a play but not as a suffrage argument.

* SOLOMONS, SELINA. *The Girl from Colorado, or The Conversion of Aunty Suffridge*. A Playlet with a Purpose. In three acts. San Francisco: Votes for Women Publishing Co. 23 pp. 10 cents. Fee for production, \$5.00.

An amusing farce, in which some California "antis" go through the ordeal of casting their first votes.

WENTWORTH, VERA. *An Allegory*. 12 pp. 15 cents. Fee for production, \$5.00.

"Synopsis:—A picturesque presentation of Woman, in chains, struggling to keep up with Man. She is baffled by Fear and Prejudice until Courage comes to her rescue." Not very effective.

ARTICLES IN PERIODICALS.

1839

Rights of Woman. Boston Quarterly Review, Vol. 2 (July): 350-378.

1851

*** MILL, MRS. JOHN STUART. *The Enfranchisement of Women.* Westminster Review, Vol. 55 (July): 289-311.

1853-1855

DAVIS, PAULINA WRIGHT, and [in 1855] CAROLINE HEALY DALL (editors). *The Una*; A Paper devoted to the Elevation of Woman. Providence, R. I., February 1, 1853—October 15, 1855. Washington, D. C., 1855. Monthly. (Boston Public Library.)

This is the first woman's rights paper, and contains much interesting matter. It was here that Thomas Wentworth Higginson's *Woman and her Wishes* first appeared (May, 1853; pp. 56-61). In the June number, 1855 (Vol. 3, p. 87), there is a copy of the protest which was "read and signed, as a part of the nuptial ceremony," at the marriage of Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell. The protest begins as follows:

"While we acknowledge our mutual affection by publicly assuming the sacred relationship of husband and wife, yet in justice to ourselves and a great principle, we deem it a duty to declare that this act on our part implies no sanction of, or promise of voluntary obedience to, such of the present laws of marriage as refuse to recognise the wife as an independent rational being, while they confer upon the

husband an injurious and unnatural superiority, investing him with legal powers which no honorable man would exercise, and which no man should possess."

1857

Female Suffrage. Historical Magazine (Boston), Vol. 1 (December): 360-362.

1859

***** HIGGINSON, THOMAS WENTWORTH. *Ought Women to Learn the Alphabet?* Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 3 (February): 137-150.

Reprinted in *Women and the Alphabet* (see p. 87).

MARTINEAU, HARRIET. *Female Industry*. Edinburgh Review, Vol. 109 (April): 293-336.

One of the earliest pleas in favor of wider opportunities for women. "The evil is plain enough. The remedies seem to be equally clear;—to sustain and improve the modern tests of the quality of educators; and to open broad and new ways for the industrial exertions of women; or at least to take care that such as open naturally are not arbitrarily closed."

1867

ARCHARD, ELIZA. *What about the Girls?* The Radical (Boston), Vol. 2 (August): 715-725.

* BECKER, LYDIA E. *Female Suffrage*. Contemporary Review, Vol. 4 (January-April): 307-316.

STANTON, ELIZABETH CADY. *The Woman Question*. The Radical (Boston), Vol. 3 (September): 18-27.

* *Female Suffrage and Education*. The Nation (New York), Vol. 5 (August 22): 152.

- * *The Ladies' Petition*. Petition presented to the House of Commons by Mr. J. Stuart Mill, June 7, 1866. Westminster Review, Vol. 31 (January): 63-79.

Reasons why Women should Vote. The Nation (New York), Vol. 5 (November 21): 416-418.

1868

CRONYN DAVID. *Woman as a Mendicant*. The Radical (Boston), Vol. 3 (February): 382-388.

PANKHURST, R. M., LL.D. *The Right of Women to Vote under the Reform Act, 1867*. Fortnightly Review, Vol. 10, old ser. (September 1): 250-254.

STANTON, ELIZABETH CADY, and PARKER PILLSBURY (editors). *The Revolution*. Proprietor: Susan B. Anthony. Weekly periodical (Boston), 1868-1870.

- * *A Leaf from the Past*. Independent, Vol. 20 (December 31): 1.

Reminiscences of the beginnings of the woman's rights movement. "There is less opposition to her voting at the polls—nay, to her being voted into office—than there was thirty years ago to her being a member of a business committee, or one of the speakers at a public meeting."

The Suppressed Sex. Westminster Review, Vol. 90 (October): 436-462.

1869

ALCOTT, A. BRONSON. *Woman: A Conversation*. The Radical (Boston), Vol. 5 (February): 89-102.

BROWN, MARIE A. *Parasites*. The Radical (Boston), Vol. 5 (March): 204-205.

COBBE, FRANCES POWER (review by). "*The Subjection of Women*," by John Stuart Mill. *Theological Review* (London), Vol. 6 (July): 355-375.

HOOKER, JOHN. "*The Revolution*" and its Conductors. *The Nation* (New York), Vol. 9 (November 4): 386-387.

HOWE, JULIA WARD. *Women as Voters*. *The Galaxy* (New York), Vol. 7 (March): 364-371.

*** KINGSLEY, CHARLES. *Women and Politics*. *Macmillan's Magazine*, Vol. 20 (October): 552-561.

This is largely a review of Mill's *Subjection of Women*, and several of Mill's arguments are restated; but Kingsley's name may carry weight with those who would discount any one argument of Mill's in view of his general radicalism.

"If the minds of lads can but be kept clear of Pagan brutalities and mediæval superstitions, and fed instead on the soundest and noblest of our English literature, Mr. Mill's creed about women will, I verily believe, seem to them as one which they have always held by instinct; as a natural deduction from their own intercourse with their mothers, their aunts, their sisters; and thus Mr. Mill's book may achieve the highest triumph of which such a book is capable; namely, that years hence young men will not care to read it, because they take it all for granted."

"The conceit is easily accounted for. The English boy is told from childhood, as the negro boy is, that men are superior to women. The negro boy shows his assent to the proposition by beating his mother, the English one by talking down his sisters. That is all."

WEISS, JOHN. *Woman Suffrage*. *The Radical* (Boston), Vol. 5 (June): 445-462.

- * *Critical Notices of "Woman's Suffrage; the Reform against Nature," by Horace Bushnell, and "The Subjection of Women," by John Stuart Mill.* North American Review, Vol. 109 (October): 556-565.

The Woman's Parliament [Letter]. The Nation (New York), Vol. 9 (November 18): 434.

1870

- ** FAWCETT, MILLICENT GARRETT. *The Electoral Disability of Women.* Fortnightly Review, Vol. 13 (May): 622-632.
- * GARRISON, WILLIAM LLOYD. *No Backward Movement.* Independent, Vol. 22 (May 19): 1.
- * GARRISON, WILLIAM LLOYD. *Objections to Reform.* Independent, Vol. 22 (March 17): 1.
- ** HIGGINSON, THOMAS WENTWORTH. "*But it Moves.*" Woman's Journal, Vol. 1 (December 17): 393.
- ** HIGGINSON, THOMAS WENTWORTH. "*One or two Plain Words.*" Woman's Journal, Vol. 1 (March 12): 76.
- * *Condorcet's Plea for the Citizenship of Women: A Translation* [with notes]. Fortnightly Review, Vol. 13 (June): 719-724.

The Subjection of Women. Westminster Review, Vol. 93 (January): 63-89.

Review of Mill's *Subjection of Women* and Josephine E. Butler's *Woman's Work and Woman's Culture.*

1871

- ** GARRISON, WILLIAM LLOYD. *The Question of Suffrage.* Independent, Vol. 23 (December 7): 3.

1872

LEE, EDWARD M. *The Woman Movement in Wyoming.*
The Galaxy, Vol. 13 (June): 755-760.

1873

- ** GARRISON, WILLIAM LLOYD. *Human Equality* (supplemental to "A man's a man for a' that"). Independent, Vol. 25 (February 6): 161.

One of the stanzas is as follows:

"Though woman never can be man,
Nor change her sex, and a' that,
To equal rights 'gainst class or clan,
Her claim is just for a' that.
For a' that, and a' that,
'Her proper sphere,' and a' that;
In all that makes a living soul
She matches man for a' that."

- * GARRISON, WILLIAM LLOYD. *The Struggle for Impartial Suffrage.* Independent, Vol. 25 (April 3): 418.

SHEFFIELD, E. N. *Politics and Women.* The Congregationalist (London), Vol. 12 (February): 146-152.

"*Not one Woman Saved.*" Editorial. Independent, Vol. 25 (April 10): 464.

The moral is drawn from the case of a recent great shipwreck, in which four hundred men were saved, and not one woman—the only apparent reason being the women's physical incapacity. "It is one of the saddest blunders of our modern civilisation that it discriminates against women's health, while assuming to spare them." "A boy is not ashamed of work; no more should be a girl. The refinement that shuts a girl out of God's sunshine,

and allows her no rougher work indoors than to embroider worsteds, or tap ivory keys, or dust a marble mantel, is refining her off the face of the earth to give place to the daughters of the servants in the kitchen."

1874

- **** CAIRNES, J. E. *Woman Suffrage*.—A Reply [to Mr. Goldwin Smith]. Macmillan's Magazine, Vol. 30 (September): 377-388.

"I do not yield to Mr. Smith, or to any one, in the firmness of my conviction that the family is at the bottom of our existing civilisation, and I should, for my part, regard as dearly purchased any gain in material or political well-being which should introduce a jar or weakness into this pivot of our social system. . . . If I were to name the principal element of weakness in the family as things now stand, I should have no hesitation in pointing to the want of sufficient subjects of common interest between man and woman."

- ** HIGGINSON, THOMAS WENTWORTH. *Criticism Criticised*. Woman's Journal, Vol. 5 (April 11): 113.

"To ask women, as yet, to contribute largely to the discussion of general political questions is to ask them to go into the water before they have learned how to swim. Having been excluded from the consideration and discussion of these questions from childhood up, it is all they can do to study them, as yet, without undertaking to teach others."

- *** HIGGINSON, THOMAS WENTWORTH. *Goldwin Smith in England*. Woman's Journal, Vol. 5 (July 4): 210.

- ** HIGGINSON, THOMAS WENTWORTH. *Honorable among All Men*. Woman's Journal, Vol. 5 (October 10): 323.

- ** HIGGINSON, THOMAS WENTWORTH. *A Misdirected Letter*. *Woman's Journal*, Vol. 5 (May 16): 153.

- * TWAIN, MARK. *Woman's Prayers and Suffrage*. *Woman's Journal*, Vol. 5 (May 9): 151.

A letter from Mark Twain to the *London Standard*, reprinted. Not a remarkable argument in itself, but interesting as evidence of Mark Twain's early interest in the cause.

- * *The Emancipation of Women*. *Westminster Review*, Vol. 102 (July): 137-174.

Through its sober, conventional style and its eighteenth century tone of authority, this essay should be particularly persuasive to constitutional conservatives.

1875

- * HIGGINSON, THOMAS WENTWORTH. *The Irrelevancy of Sex*. *Woman's Journal*, Vol. 6 (August 7): 249.

1878

- * FAWCETT, MILLICENT GARRETT. *The Future of Englishwomen: A Reply*. *Nineteenth Century*, Vol. 4 (August): 347-355.

1881

- JACOBI, Dr. MARY PUTNAM. *Limited Female Suffrage*. [Letter.] *The Nation* (New York), Vol. 32 (June 2): 387-388.

- PFEIFFER, EMILY. *Woman's Claim*. *Contemporary Review*, Vol. 39 (February): 265-277.

1882

AMES, C. G. *Woman's Suffrage*. The American (Philadelphia), Vol. 4 (July 22): 233-234.

Review of the first volume of the *History of Woman Suffrage*.

THOMAS, E. A. *Female Suffrage in Wyoming*. Potter's American Monthly (Philadelphia), Vol. 18-19 (May): 492-495.

"*Common Sense about Women*." [Review.] The American (Philadelphia), Vol. 4 (June 10): 139.

"*Woman Suffrage in Massachusetts*." [Review.] The American (Philadelphia), Vol. 3 (January 21): 233-234.

1883

BLAKE, LILLIE DEVEREUX; NINA MORAIS; SARA A. UNDERWOOD; DR. CLEMENCE S. LOZIER. *Dr. Hammond's Estimate of Woman*. North American Review, Vol. 137 (November): 495-519.

Each of these replies is rather good in itself, and the argument from woman's hysterical temperament is well answered (especially by Mrs. Underwood). But since the four essays are quite disconnected, they are naturally tedious through repetition of each other.

BRACE, C. LORING. *The Christian Position of Woman*. Extract from *Gesta Christi; or A History of Humane Progress under Christianity*. Catholic Presbyterian (London), Vol. 9 (March): 207-210.

DALL, Mrs. CAROLINE H. *Where is Woman's Place?* The American (Philadelphia), Vol. 6 (April 14): 6-7.

- **** FAWCETT, MILLICENT GARRETT. *Women and Representative Government*. Nineteenth Century, Vol. 14 (August): 285-291.

"Representation is the motive power for the redress of legislative grievances." "I have said that the sense of justice is not so much wanting as the motive power which will convert a passive recognition of the existence of wrong into an active determination to get that wrong righted. It must not, however, be forgotten that without being consciously unjust or cruel, there is such a thing as a torpid sense of justice. As the ear gets deafened and the vision gets blurred by frequent misuse, so the sense of justice becomes feeble and dim by constant association with laws and customs which are unjust. To live in a society whose laws give women 'something less than justice' is apt to pervert the conscience, and make those whose imagination is not very active acquiesce in injustice as if it were part of the inevitable nature of things."

- * FRANKLIN, FABIAN. *Dr. Hammond's Ideas of Women*. The American (Philadelphia), Vol. 6 (August 11): 280.

"*Common Sense about Women*." Review of Thomas W. Higginson's *Common Sense about Women*. Westminster Review, Vol. 119, new series 63 (January): 155-165.

1884

- CLAFLIN, ADELAIDE A. *Women in Politics*. [Letter.] The Nation (New York), Vol. 39 (September 18): 242.

- DAVIES, J. LLEWELYN. *Christianity and the Equality of the Sexes*. Contemporary Review, Vol. 46 (August): 224-234.

PITMAN, ROBERT C. *Woman as a Political Factor*. North American Review, Vol. 139 (November): 405-416.

** *The Christian Harem*. Westminster Review, Vol. 122, new series 66 (July): 105-115.

"*The Woman Question in Europe*." Westminster Review, Vol. 122, new series 66 (July): 185-212.

Review of Theodore Stanton's *The Woman Question in Europe*.

Women Ratepayers' Right to Vote. Westminster Review, Vol. 122, new series 66 (October): 375-381.

1885

** PFEIFFER, EMILY. *The Suffrage for Women*. Contemporary Review, Vol. 47 (March): 419-435.

SMITH, PHILIP VERNON. *Women's Suffrage: A Reply*. National Review (London), Vol. 5 (March): 60-70.

Grudging support of woman suffrage as a defensive measure against the Radicals.

1886

** FAWCETT, MILLICENT GARRETT. *Women's Suffrage: A Reply*. Nineteenth Century, Vol. 19 (May): 740-748.

HILL, DAVID J. *The Emancipation of Woman*. Cosmopolitan, Vol. 1 (August): 96-99.

LIVERMORE, MARY A. *Woman Suffrage*. North American Review, Vol. 143 (October): 371-381.

MINOR, FRANCIS. *Woman's Legal Right to the Ballot*. The Forum, Vol. 2 (December): 351-360.

SPARHAWK, FRANCES C. *Woman's Suffrage*. Education, Vol. 7 (November): 193-198.

1887

BLACKWELL, HENRY B. *Woman Suffrage Problems Considered*. The Forum, Vol. 3 (April): 131-141.

BORTHWICK, ALICE B. *English Women as a Political Force*. North American Review, Vol. 145 (July): 81-85.

STANTON, ELIZABETH CADY. "*The Worst Enemy of Woman is Woman.*" Open Court (Chicago), Vol. 1 (August 4): 348-350.

- * *The Changing Status of Women*. Westminster Review, Vol. 128 (September): 818-828.

The contention is that only when women become economically and politically independent can sexual selection have its full and proper effect on the development of the race. The argument is logically worked out, but the style is disagreeably dogmatic.

- * *The Emancipation of Women*. Westminster Review, Vol. 128 (May): 167-173.
- * *The Law in Relation to Women*. Westminster Review, Vol. 128 (September): 698-710.

What Woman is Fitted for. Westminster Review, Vol. 127 (January): 64-75.

1888

ARTHUR, JOHN. *Woman's Suffrage in Washington Territory*. [Letter.] The American (Philadelphia), Vol. 16 (September 15): 347.

- * FAWCETT, MILLICENT GARRETT. *Women's Suffrage: A Reply*. National Review (London), Vol. 11 (March): 44-61.

LOCKWOOD, BELVA A. *The Present Phase of the Woman Question.* The Cosmopolitan, Vol. 5 (October): 467-470.

WILLARD, FRANCES E. *The Dawn of Woman's Day.* Our Day (Boston), Vol. 2 (November): 345-360.

WILLARD, FRANCES E. *Woman's Ballot as a Temperance Measure.* Our Day (Boston), Vol. 2 (July): 41-53.

Female Poaching on Male Preserves. Westminster Review, Vol. 129 (March): 290-297.

1889

ARLING, N. *Liberty of the Subject (Female).* Westminster Review, Vol. 132 (August): 157-167.

**** FAWCETT, MILLICENT GARRETT, and M. M. DILKE. *The Appeal against Female Suffrage: A Reply.* Nineteenth Century, Vol. 26 (July): 86-102.

*****FAWCETT, MILLICENT GARRETT. *The Women's Suffrage Bill. I. The Enfranchisement of Women.* Fortnightly Review, Vol. 51 (April): 555-567.

"It is a curious reflection that in those countries where women's rights are most completely non-existent, there the specially womanly duties of women are most grossly neglected. . . . Travellers tell us that one of the horrors of Egyptian life is the fearful neglect from which the children suffer."

"It is only about fifty years ago that Lord Brougham said that the whole mass of English law 'as it related to women was so atrocious that there was nothing to be done but to leave it alone and keep it out of sight as long as possible.' This curiously philosophical way of regarding

an 'atrocious' state of the law does not commend itself to women." "I acknowledge gladly that a good deal has been done to get those atrocities removed; but not a single one of them would have been touched but for the efforts of women themselves, and one of the most effective means of accomplishing the reforms referred to, has been the demand for parliamentary representation." "But . . . if every law in the United Kingdom were ideally just to women, their claim to enfranchisement would, in my judgment, be quite as strong as it is now. The exclusion of a whole sex from the advantages of representative government is an authoritative sanction to the view that women are not called upon to think or care about the interests of the nation to which they belong."

HANNIGAN, D. F., and ELIZABETH MARTYN. *Women in Public Life*. Westminster Review, Vol. 132 (September): 278-285.

WEDGWOOD, JULIA. "Male and Female Created He Them." Contemporary Review, Vol. 56 (July): 120-133.

**** *St. Paul and the Woman Movement*. Westminster Review, Vol. 131 (February): 135-147.

An admirable article showing the futility of trying to reconcile the ideas of the woman movement with the teaching of St. Paul.

* *Women's Suffrage: A Reply*. Fortnightly Review, Vol. 52, new ser. 46 (July 1): 123-139.

1890

* BULLEY, A. AMY. *The Political Evolution of Women*. Westminster Review, Vol. 134 (July): 1-8.

- **** HALDANE, R. B. *On some Economic Aspects of Women's Suffrage*. Contemporary Review, Vol. 58 (December): 830-838.

MINOR, FRANCIS. *Woman's Political Status*. The Forum, Vol. 9 (April): 150-158.

A reply (but not an adequate one) to Goldwin Smith's *Woman's Place in the State* (The Forum, January, 1890).

TWINING, LOUISA. *Women as Public Servants*. Nineteenth Century, Vol. 28 (December): 950-958.

- **** WARD, LESTER F. *Genius and Woman's Intuition*. The Forum, Vol. 9 (June): 401-408.

Perhaps the most plausible of modern arguments against woman suffrage are the essays on the woman question in Mr. Frederic Harrison's *Realities and Ideals*. Mr. Harrison lays special stress on woman's intuition in dealing with public questions, and he says that this valuable asset would be lost if her political position were rendered like that of man. This essay by Professor Ward (written eighteen years earlier) completely exposes the fallacy of any such valuation of woman's intuition.

- ** *Results of the Non-enfranchisement of Women*. Westminster Review, Vol. 133 (March): 231-239.

Economic argument.

- ** *The Writings of Mary Wollstonecraft*. Westminster Review, Vol. 133 (January): 10-23.

1891

DIETRICK, ELLEN BATTELLE. *Woman and Negro Suffrage*. Westminster Review, Vol. 135 (April): 364-372.

LIVERMORE, MARY A. *Cooperative Womanhood in the State*. North American Review, Vol. 153 (September): 283-295.

- **** MCCARTHY, JUSTIN. *Women in English Politics*. North American Review, Vol. 153 (November): 568-579.

"The House of Commons never makes a reform simply because the reform is one that ought to be made. It makes a reform only because and when it has to be made. Incessant pressure must be brought to bear by those who have a movement in hand. They must make themselves disagreeable, intolerable, to each and every government, until at last some government finds it necessary to come to terms with them, take the reform out of their hands, and carry it as a measure of administration. . . . Governments in this country are unlike Falstaff and his reasons—they will give anything on compulsion. . . . They [the suffrage party] will have sooner or later to make themselves very disagreeable if they are determined to have anything speedily done."

- * SPEARMAN, EDMUND R. *Eve's Mission*. Westminster Review, Vol. 136 (September): 245-254.

A review (with long quotations) of *Eve dans l'humanité*, by Maria Deraismes (Paris: L. Souvaitre, 1891).

- STONE, LUCY, and FRANCES E. WILLARD. *Woman's Suffrage*. The Chautauquan (Meadville, Pa.), Vol. 13 (April): 72-74.

The Era of Woman. Editorial. The Arena (Boston), Vol. 4 (August): 282-284.

- ** *A Revived Classic*. The Nation (New York), Vol. 52 (February 19): 163-164.

Review of Mrs. Fawcett's edition of Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Women*. It is good for people whose objections to woman suffrage are grounded in a general and vague conservatism to be reminded how quickly the heresy of one age may become the orthodoxy

of the next. "The *Vindication* will serve a most useful purpose now in showing the conditions which it has been a powerful means of changing." Interesting extracts are given in this review.

Woman Emancipation. By P. C. Open Court (Chicago), Vol. 5 (March 26): 2747-2748.

1892

ADAM, JULIETTE. *Woman's Place in Modern Life.* Fortnightly Review, Vol. 57, new ser. 51 (April): 522-529.

- ** BLAKE, MATILDA M. *Are Women Protected?* Westminster Review, Vol. 137 (January-June): 43-48.

The essay gives a host of examples showing the injustice of the English law to women. "At Durham, about Christmas last year, a man was sentenced to *nine months' imprisonment* for killing his wife with a poker. True, she drank, but would a magistrate have considered the same punishment enough for a woman who had rid herself of a drunken husband in a similar manner? At the same time a man who picked a pocket of a purse containing £2, 2s., was sentenced to *five years' penal servitude.*"

- ** BLAKE, MATILDA M. *Our Grandmothers and their Grandmothers.* Westminster Review, Vol. 137 (January-June): 608-617.

The concluding sentence shows the drift of the essay: "It is, above all things, desirable that those who obstruct the higher education and enfranchisement of women on the ground that ignorance and political irresponsibility were more favorable to the preservation of delicacy and refinement in their modes of speech and behavior, should be answered by an appeal to history, which shows the facts to be quite the other way." The examples given to prove the point are amusing and convincing.

**** CAIRD, MONA. *A Defence of the So-called "Wild Women."* Nineteenth Century, Vol. 31 (May): 811-829. Reprinted in *The Morality of Marriage* (1907), q. v.

* FAWCETT, MILLICENT GARRETT. *Women in English Politics.* The Forum, Vol. 14 (December): 453-464.

Mrs. Fawcett shows that an important part is played in English politics by the women of the upper classes, and points out the significance of their work as an argument for woman suffrage.

*** FAWCETT, MILLICENT GARRETT; **Right Hon. L. H. COURTNEY, M. P.; and *SARAH M. SHELDON AMOS. *The Women's Suffrage Question.* Contemporary Review, Vol. 61 (June): 761-778.

These articles are even now very interesting, though they deal largely with the immediate prospects for woman suffrage in 1892. Mr. Courtney's argument in support of women in industry (p. 772) is especially good. "It is obvious that if large numbers of women are converted from mere consumers into helpers in production, there will be an increase in the mass of products without any corresponding increase in the mouths to be fed. . . . All the arguments against the utilisation of women as producers are the same as those against the use of machines; those who employ such arguments confine their attention to the phenomena of displacement of labor immediately resulting, they do not carry their minds forward to the gains that follow readjustment. . . . The recognition of woman as a worker and the recognition of woman as a voter are part of one and the same movement. Side by side the advance is made, and each step assists the other."

** HOWE, JULIA WARD. *Woman Suffrage as a Method in Vital Reform.* A Paper read at the National Council of Women, Washington, D. C. Our Day (Boston), Vol. 9 (January): 23-27.

- *** SHAW, REV. ANNA. *Woman's Right to Suffrage*. American Journal of Politics, Vol. 1 (September): 309-319.

SNOAD, WARNER. *A Plea for Justice*. Westminster Review, Vol. 138 (July-December): 52-56.

Good, but without distinction.

WILLARD, FRANCES E. *The Woman's Cause is Man's*. The Arena (Boston), Vol. 5 (May): 712-725.

- * WRIGHT, CARROLL D. *Why Women are Paid less than Men*. The Forum, Vol. 13 (July): 629-639.

The main point made is that of the close and necessary connection between the political and the industrial emancipation of woman.

1893

- ** BLAKE, MATILDA M. *Women as Poor-law Guardians*. Westminster Review, Vol. 139 (January): 12-21.

The writer points out the importance of women's public service in such offices as that of poor-law guardian. Each point is fully established by examples.

- ** BÜCHNER, LUDWIG. *The Brain of Women*. New Review, Vol. 9 (August): 166-176.

DIETRICK, ELLEN BATTELLE. *Who shall Prescribe Woman's Sphere?* American Journal of Politics, Vol. 3 (August): 155-161.

- ** FRANKLIN, CHRISTINE LADD. *Intuition and Reason*. The Monist, Vol. 3 (January): 211-219.

An admirable article; very pertinent to the suffrage question in view of the great amount of nonsense that is written about woman's intuition by controversialists on both sides. "It is not true that men's minds and women's

minds have different ways of working; but it is true that upon certain occasions . . . we all act from intuition, and that the circumstances of women's lives have hitherto been such as to make their interests lie somewhat more exclusively in those regions in which conduct is intuitive than in those in which it is long thought out. It is not true that the Creator has made two separate kinds of mind for men and for women; but it is true that society, as at present constituted, offers two somewhat separate *fields of interest* for men and for women, and that the nature of their conduct is of necessity determined by the character of the action which is demanded of them." The inference is that when women have more to do with affairs of government, they will inevitably form their decisions upon conscious rather than subconscious grounds.

LOCKWOOD, BELVA A. *Women in Politics*. American Journal of Politics, Vol. 2 (April): 385-387.

MAYNARD, CORA. *The Woman's Part*. The Arena (Boston), Vol. 7 (March): 476-486.

MEATH, EARL OF. *British Women and Local Government*. North American Review, Vol. 157 (October): 423-431.

** PIMENOFF, LYDIA LVOVNA. *Science and the Woman's Question*. North American Review, Vol. 156 (February): 248-251.

The writer points out the significance, for the status of woman, of the fact that advancing civilisation, by decreasing the death rate, decreases also the birth rate. "The great problem of the age—how to emancipate women and preserve motherhood—is already more than half solved. The world has no longer need of the enormous sacrifice through which our sex has replenished the race in the past." Not having to provide so much "food for powder," woman is now justified in directing her energies in great part into other channels.

- * RICKOFF, BERTHA MONROE. *Women and the World*.
North American Review, Vol. 157 (October): 451-455.

Argument for women's economic independence, with special reference to the effect on the character of married life. Not well written, but otherwise a very good article.

- SELDEN, CATHERINE. *The Tyranny of the Kitchen*.
North American Review, Vol. 157 (October): 423-431.

An argument in favor of the organisation of household industries. All such arguments are very pertinent to the question of woman suffrage. In this article, however, the full significance of the reform is not pointed out.

- VARIGNY, M. C. DE. *The American Woman*. Popular
Science Monthly, Vol. 43 (July): 383-388.

- * *Professions Accessible to Women*. Westminster Review,
Vol. 139 (January-June): 381-385.

Review of *Etudes historiques sur les professions accessibles aux femmes*, by Jeanne Chauvin. Both the book reviewed and the review deal with the woman question as a whole, especially from the sociological standpoint, not with women's professions in the narrower sense. The essay gives a brief but very suggestive account of the position of woman in ancient times and in the Middle Ages.

1894

- CAIRD, MONA. *Phases of Human Development*. Westminster Review, Vol. 141 (January and February): 37-51; 162-179.

These essays are concerned chiefly with the subjection of women. They are ably written, but too radical to suit the general public.

- *** FAWCETT, MILLICENT GARRETT. *New Zealand under Female Franchise*. Contemporary Review, Vol. 65 (March): 433-437.

A very effective and amusing reply to an article with the same title in the *Nineteenth Century* for February, 1894. A reader of these two articles cannot but be impressed with the danger of reading facts by no other light than that of preconceived opinions.

- **** GILLILAND, MARY S. *Women in the Community and in the Family*. International Journal of Ethics, Vol. 5 (October): 28-43.

Admirably constructed and admirably written. The argument is much like that of Mrs. Gilman's books, but the manner is more restrained, and the progress is more gradual. The case is not, of course, so fully stated.

"Women have a right to demand that they shall be allowed to do their duty. And it is their duty to make the very best and most of themselves possible, as part workers and part contributors to the common stock of happiness or good." "The necessity for the sacrifice of all her other faculties in order to secure the furtherance of her mere bodily fertility no longer exists. And with the necessity for the sacrifice the nobility of the sacrifice has disappeared wholly also. To cling to the sacrifice when the necessity for it has passed away; to adore it as divine when it has ceased to be decently human; to insist upon the narrow function which it involved as 'woman's sphere,' when, as a human being, woman inevitably changes her sphere with every change in the life of humanity,—this is to be a slave who clings to his fetters, a cripple who despises the use of feet, a sentimentalist who, wasting his heart on his own emotions, has none left for the realities of daily life."

GRAND, SARAH. *The Modern Girl*. North American Review, Vol. 158 (June): 706-714.

GRAND, SARAH. *The New Aspects of the Woman Question*. North American Review, Vol. 158 (March): 270-276.

GREENE, MARY A. *Results of the Woman Suffrage Movement*. The Forum, Vol. 17 (June): 413-424.

An interesting treatment of the constitutional aspect of the question.

HEMERY, GERTRUDE. *The Revolt of the Daughters: An Answer—by One of Them*. Westminster Review, Vol. 141 (June): 679-681.

**** HOAR, GEORGE F. *The Right and Expediency of Woman Suffrage*. Century Magazine, Vol. 26, new ser. (August): 605-613.

HOWARD, JEANNETTE. *The Political Status of Women*. Chautauquan (Meadville, Pa.), Vol. 18 (January): 477-480.

HUGHES, JAMES L. *The Last Protest against Woman's Enfranchisement*. The Arena (Boston), Vol. 10 (July): 201-213.

Reply to Goldwin Smith's essay on *Woman Suffrage*.

HUSBAND, THOMAS F. "*The Story of an African Farm*:" A Reflection. Westminster Review, Vol. 141 (June): 631-642.

Good, but not remarkable. The essay is merely a weakened version of the lesson of the book—a lesson much too clear to need elucidation.

- ** JACOBI, DR. MARY PUTNAM. *The Status and Future of the Woman Suffrage Movement*. The Forum, Vol. 18 (December): 406-414.

A terse and forcible argument. "All that can be charged against women is that, excluded from responsibility, they have failed to feel responsible; that, forbidden to take any part in public affairs, they have usually obeyed the prohibition; that, trained to look upon New York as an assemblage of shopping-places, they have had no lofty ideal for their native city."

LIVERMORE, MARY A. *What has the Woman Suffrage Reform Accomplished?* The Bostonian, Vol. 1 (October): 81-86.

- * PARRITT, EDWARD. *Women in English Politics*. New England Magazine, Vol. 10, new ser. (April): 222-228.

Statement of the political position held by English women—what officers they can vote for, what boards they can serve on, etc. A knowledge of this is useful in connection with the articles on suffrage in the English reviews.

SCHAUMBURG, ATKINSON. *Woman Suffrage*. American Journal of Politics, Vol. 5 (October): 412-416.

SMITH, ALYS W. PEARSALL. *A Reply from the Daughters*. Nineteenth Century, Vol. 35 (March): 443-450.

SPENCE, CATHERINE HELEN. *South Australia's Victory for Adult Suffrage*. Canadian Magazine, Vol. 5 (July): 276-277.

- * SOMERSET, LADY HENRY. *The Renaissance of Women*. North American Review, Vol. 159 (October): 490-497.

The argument is good; especially well made is the point (p. 493) of the superiority of well planned philanthropy to the sporadic acts of charity to which women are now largely confined by their lack of political status. "I

maintain that true philanthropy means the dealing with cause and not effect, searching out the root of evil and attacking it at all risks; not pulling down the leaves from poisoned boughs in the leisure moments of a summer's day."

STANTON, THEODORE. *Woman Suffrage in France*. Open Court (Chicago), Vol. 8 (June 28): 4127-4130.

** VEBLEN, THORSTEIN. *The Economic Theory of Woman's Dress*. Popular Science Monthly, Vol. 46 (December): 198-205.

This theory—that "the great function of civilised womankind is the conspicuous consumption of goods"—is sure to arouse a very wholesome kind of discontent. "It is of the essence of dress that it should (appear to) hamper, incommode and injure the wearer, for in so doing it proclaims the wearer's pecuniary ability to endure idleness and physical incapacity." "The theory of woman's dress quite plainly involves the implication that the woman is a chattel." The same theory is stated more fully in Veblen's *Theory of the Leisure Class* (see p. 84).

VICTOR, FRANCES FULLER. *Does Maternity Preclude Politics?* American Magazine of Civics, Vol. 5 (May): 457-464.

WAITE, DAVID H. (Governor of Colorado). *Woman Suffrage in Practice*. North American Review, Vol. 158 (June): 737-741.

Not good.

1895

BROOKS, MARY ELIZABETH. *Suffrage for Women*. American Magazine of Civics, Vol. 6 (February): 158-167.

Not good.

EDWARDS, PERCY L. *Should Women be Admitted to Full Citizenship?* The Green Bag (Boston), Vol. 7 (April): 217-222.

GARDENER, HELEN H. *Shall Women Vote?* The Arena (Boston), Vol. 15 (December): 67-79.

MATTERS, CHARLES H. *Woman Suffrage.* Westminster Review, Vol. 143 (January-June): 534-537.

An account of how woman suffrage was obtained in Australia.

MEREDITH, Mrs. E. R. "Woman's Part in Political Sins:" A Reply. American Magazine of Civics, Vol. 7 (August): 172-176.

- * REEVES, EDWARD. *Why New Zealand Women Get the Franchise.* Westminster Review, Vol. 143 (January-June): 35-47.

"New Zealand women have obtained the franchise because they do their fair share of life's duties"—because they almost always do their housework, etc., without help from servants. The implied conclusion is that when woman becomes an important economic factor in the community, she will receive the franchise.

RITCHIE, ELLEN S. H. *A National Waste.* Westminster Review, Vol. 144 (July-December): 545-551.

The writer shows how the health of the poor women and the energy of the rich women are thrown away—sacrificed to the principle of non-interference. Not a good argument, because, while dealing directly only with the woman question, it begs the question of socialism.

- * SOMERSET, LADY HENRY; HARRIET PRESCOTT SPOFFORD;
MARION HARLAND. *Nagging Women*: A Reply to
Dr. Edson. North American Review, Vol. 160
(March): 311-312.

The first two essays (especially the first) are good as suffrage arguments because they point out in a forcible way the natural connection between nagging and a narrowly domestic life. "Any discussion of the nagging woman that fails to take into account the fact that she feels the strain of wifely and motherly cares without the compensation that results from mingling with the daily life of the world and coming into touch with its multifarious and inspiring interests, is to my mind unscientific."

Féminisme at Paris. Saturday Review, Vol. 80 (August 17): 205-206.

The writer points out the difference between the prospects of *féminisme* in France and in England. It is gratifying to find encouragement from a paper so conservative as the *Saturday Review*. "In England the antagonism which they who desire to enlarge the sphere of woman's usefulness have to overcome is chiefly external. The iconoclasts are merely making war against petrified conventions, dead already in the spirit, the letter of whose law is also crumbling away. But the soul of the people is attuned to liberty in spite of that conservatism which makes for the sacrosanctity of purely arbitrary customs."

1896

BLAIKIE, Rev. W. GARDEN. *Woman's Battle in Great Britain*. North American Review, Vol. 163 (August): 282-295.

The writer gives in outline the history of woman's first ventures into literature, medicine and politics. He is

in sympathy with the movement, but the essay is sentimental and dull.

BURLEIGH, FLORENCE A. *Woman's Part in Political Sins*. American Magazine of Civics, Vol. 9 (November): 429-433.

CHAPMAN, CHARLES H. *The Right of Woman to the Ballot*. The Arena (Boston), Vol. 16 (September): 570-580.

A weak answer to the argument that women cannot fight.

DICKINSON, MARY LOWE. *A Half Century of Progress*. The Arena (Boston), Vol. 15 (February): 361-370.

ETHELMEER, ELLIS. *A Woman Emancipator*. Westminster Review, Vol. 145 (April): 424-428.

Biographical sketch of Elizabeth Wolstoneholme Elmy.

GIBBON, JOHN. *Why Women should have the Ballot*. North American Review, Vol. 163 (July): 91-97.

HARVEY, H. E. *The Voice of Woman*. Westminster Review, Vol. 145 (January-June): 193-196.

Shows how a man-made literature has prejudiced the whole world's ideas and ideals of woman.

HARWOOD, W. S. *Constitutional Suffrage for Women*. North American Review, Vol. 162 (May): 632-634.

Not good.

LEE, MARGARET NOBLE. *Bishop Doane and Woman Suffrage*. The Arena (Boston), Vol. 15 (March): 642-653.

LYTTLETON, E. *Women's Suffrage and the Teaching of St. Paul*. Contemporary Review, Vol. 69 (May): 680-691.

The writer endeavors to palliate the force of St. Paul's dicta on woman, explaining them by the Rabbinical teaching on the subject and by other circumstances of the time. He concludes that support of the woman movement does not involve irreverence. The article is ineffective.

*** McILQUHAM, HARRIETT. "*Of Women in Assemblies*." A Reply. Nineteenth Century, Vol. 37 (November): 777-781.

Excellent refutation of the argument that "a real discussion of important matters, on which practical action is to follow, is impossible by men in any assembly in which women sit with them as fellow-debaters and fellow-voters."

NORTON, Mrs. EDWARD QUINCEY. *Dual Suffrage*. The Arena (Boston), Vol. 16 (October): 748-751.

RUSSELL, ALYS. *The Woman Movement in Germany*. Nineteenth Century, Vol. 40 (July): 97-104.

SCHMAHL, JEANNE E. *The Women's Rights Movement in France*. The Forum, Vol. 22 (September): 79-92.

* SPOFFORD, HARRIET PRESCOTT, and MARGARET BOTTOME. *Petticoat Government*. North American Review, Vol. 163 (July): 109-114.

Good answers to the silly article by Max O'Rell that precedes them. Max O'Rell: "Petted by her husband, the most devoted and hard-working of husbands in the world, she is literally covered with precious stones. . . . She is surrounded by the most numerous and delicate attentions, yet she is not satisfied." Margaret Bottomé: "In the latter part of this nineteenth century, . . . covering a

woman with precious stones does not answer her nobler needs. She must work to make this world holier. To receive from God and to give out to one's fellows is the only way in which women as well as men can be made happy."

- ** TWEEDY, ALICE B. *Woman and the Ballot*. Popular Science Monthly, Vol. 49 (June): 241-253.

The writer deals chiefly with the question of women in assemblies. The style is popular and spirited.

The Benefit to Women of Suffrage Rights: Various Opinions. American Magazine of Civics, Vol. 8 (June): 605-615.

Insignificant answers from various people.

- ** *On Being a Woman*. The Spectator, Vol. 77 (August 29): 269-270.

Nothing is more convincing as an argument for woman's right to determine her own "sphere" than a good frank statement of the only logical alternative. Any article on the subject in the *Spectator* would serve the purpose, but this one is particularly clear in its acceptance of woman as a non-human, exclusively feminine being. "Woman is the mother of the human race, and the carrying on of the race is so important a function as to more than justify the devotion of the half of mankind to this end alone. So woman in her capacity of mother is worked for, watched over, and tended by man,—for what were the use of all his toil were he to leave no child to inherit its fruit?" Cf. the first chapters of *Women and Economics*.

- ** *Woman under Monasticism*. Review of "Woman under Monasticism," by Lina Eckenstein. The Nation (New York), Vol. 63 (July): 90-91.

The bearing of the mediæval activity of women upon present problems is pointed out. "The right to self-devel-

opment and social responsibility which is asked for by the modern woman is analogous to the right which the convent secured for her eight centuries ago."

1897

ANTHONY, SUSAN B. *The Status of Woman, Past, Present, and Future*. The Arena (Boston), Vol. 17 (May): 901-908.

A review of the progress made in the movement in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

CRAWFORD, VIRGINIA. *Feminism in France*. Fortnightly Review, Vol. 67 (April): 524-534.

An interesting account of the movement and its leaders.

DICKINSON, MARY LOWE. *The National Council of Women of the United States*. The Arena (Boston), Vol. 17 (February): 478-491.

FOSTER, J. ELLEN. *Woman's Political Evolution*. North American Review, Vol. 165 (November): 600-609.

Illogical and badly written.

HARVEY, H. E. *Science and the Rights of Women*. Westminster Review, Vol. 148 (August): 205-207.

The writer argues that "this is the first task which the women of the present day have before them—to educate public opinion to allow more liberty for women and less for men." The article is well written, but it would offend more readers than it would attract.

HEWITT, EMMA CHURCHMAN. *The New Woman in her Relation to the "New Man."* Westminster Review, Vol. 147 (March): 335-337.

"The masculine woman is no more common than the effeminate man." "What are 'distinctively feminine pur-

suits,' by the way? Sewing and cooking are two, let us say. Then what of our tailors and bakers? If men may sew and bake, then why may not women keep books and superintend vast business enterprises?" The vastness, of course, is precisely the point at issue. Men do not sew and bake on a *small* scale, and so the parallel is lost. This writer is as unfair as most opponents of woman suffrage.

- *** LUSK, HUGH H. *Remarkable Success of Women's Enfranchisement in New Zealand*. The Forum, Vol. 123 (April): 173-183.

The example of New Zealand women is held up to American woman suffragists. "What they did was to take advantage of every opportunity that was given them of taking part in the management of public affairs, and of showing an active and intelligent interest in public questions."

- ** TYRRELL, GEORGE. *The Old Faith and the New Woman*. American Catholic Quarterly Review, Vol. 22 (September): 630-645.

This article is so reactionary in its attitude towards all modern questions that the reader cannot fail to be impressed with the essential connection between reactionary and anti-democratic ideas and opposition to the "new woman."

- WEBB, JAMES AVERY. *A Legal View of Women's Suffrage in America*. American Law Review, Vol. 31 (May-June): 404-409.

- "IGNOTA." *Women's Suffrage*. Westminster Review, Vol. 148 (October): 358-372.

Good, but full of detail as to the history of the question in England.

1898

- * ABBOTT, FRANCES M. *A Comparative View of the Woman Suffrage Movement*. North American Review, Vol. 166 (February): 142-151.

ARLING, NAT. *What is the Rôle of the "New Woman"?* Westminster Review, Vol. 150 (November): 576-587.

Sensible, but not striking.

- ** FRANKLIN, FABIAN. *The Intellectual Powers of Woman*. North American Review, Vol. 166 (January): 40-53.

Many anti-suffragists are still largely influenced by vague ideas of woman's mental inferiority. This article exposes the fallacy of these theories and proves that "the facts of history are not only not conclusive, but cannot properly be regarded as establishing even a presumption concerning the limitations of the intellectual powers of woman."

HOLMES, LIZZIE M. *Woman's Future Position in the World*. The Arena (Boston), Vol. 20 (September): 333-343.

Rather loose sociological argument. The good points that are made are put in an unpersuasive way.

MEARKLE, ANNIE L. *The Woman who Wants to be a Man*. Midland Monthly (Des Moines, Iowa), Vol. 9 (February): 173-177.

"She is not a hen who wants to be an eagle. She wants to be what she may be and ought to be, a fully developed human being. *Homo* is what she wants to be, not to be a male."

- ** MCILQUHAM, HARRIET. *Mary Astell: A Seventeenth Century Advocate for Women*. Westminster Review, Vol. 149 (April): 444-449.

A very interesting essay on this charming precursor of the suffragists. "There is no difference of sex in souls, no

disadvantage in the organisation of their bodies"—thus Mary Astell wrote in her *Defence of the Female Sex*. "No-where have women so easy a servitude as in England, but fetters of gold are still fetters, and the softest lining can never make them so easy as liberty."

- ** MCILQUHAM, HARRIET. *Sophia: a Person of Quality*. The Eighteenth Century Champion of Women's Rights. Westminster Review, Vol. 150 (November): 533-547.

The essay is chiefly made up of interesting quotations from "Sophia's" very spirited little book, *Women not Inferior to Men*. There are many good hard thrusts at prejudice. "Why is learning useless to us? Because we have no share in public offices! And why have we no share in public offices? Because we have no learning!"

- "IGNOTA." *The Part of Women in Local Administration*. Westminster Review, Vol. 150 (July, September, October, 1898): 32-46, 248-260, 377-389; Vol. 151 (February, 1899): 159-171.

The writer gives a detailed account of the extent to which women had, at this time, obtained a right to sit in the various local administrative bodies in different parts of Great Britain. Interesting to one who is already interested in the question.

1899

- ABERDEEN, ISABEL, Countess of. *The International Council of Women in Congress*. Nineteenth Century, Vol. 46 (July): 18-25.

- * CHANT, L. ORMISTON. *Woman as an Athlete: A Reply to Dr. Arabella Kenealy*. Nineteenth Century, Vol. 45 (May): 745-754.

In reading this article—and the one in the April number to which it is a reply—one is struck with the fact that the

people who, only ten years ago, regarded woman's physical development as a hindrance to her "womanliness," used very much the same arguments as are now used by those who oppose her general human development (in particular, her right to the suffrage). The former position has already come to seem absurd, even to the conservative; those whose opinions are guided chiefly by a desire to be a little in advance of the times, may profit by the obvious conclusion.

GAFFNEY, FANNIE HUMPHREYS. *A Woman's Criticism of the Women's Congress: A Reply*. Nineteenth Century, Vol. 46 (September): 455-458.

** [GILMAN,] CHARLOTTE PERKINS STETSON. *The Woman's Congress of 1899*. The Arena (Boston), Vol. 22 (September): 342-350.

The best of the articles on this subject, because it points out most forcibly the broad significance of the international woman's congress.

HEWITT, EMMA C. *Woman's Duty*. Westminster Review, Vol. 152 (July): 83-84.

JAMIESON, HERBERT. *The Modern Woman*. Westminster Review, Vol. 152 (November): 571-576.

Some good points are made, but the manner is not ingratiating.

McILQUHAM, HARRIET. *Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and Mary Astell*. Westminster Review, Vol. 151 (March): 289-299.

An interesting account of the friendship between these two women, and especially of the influence upon Lady Mary Wortley Montagu of Mary Astell's ideas about women.

MELEGARI, DORA. *The Woman Question in Italy*. Contemporary Review, Vol. 76 (December): 819-831.

An account of the beginnings of a woman's movement in Italy.

- * MUZZEY, ANNIE L. *The Hour and the Woman*. The Arena (Boston), Vol. 22 (August): 263-272.

A good review, with quotations, of *Women and Economics*.

PARKER, GILBERT, and MAY WRIGHT SEWALL. *The International Council of Women*. Fortnightly Review, Vol. 72 (July): 151-159.

- ** SCHREINER, OLIVE. *The Woman Question*. The Cosmopolitan, Vol. 28 (November and December): 45-54; 182-192.

An impassioned plea for woman's right to a full share of "honored and socially useful human toil." "Looking round on the entire field of woman's ancient and traditional labors, we find that fully three fourths of it have shrunk away forever, and that the remaining fourth still tends to shrink." The first part of the essay gives a picturesque account of the rise and decline of woman as an economic factor.

"IGNOTA." "*The Awakening of Woman*" Westminster Review, Vol. 152 (July): 69-72.

The article is a review, consisting mainly of long quotations, of *The Awakening of Woman, or Woman's Part in Evolution*, by Frances Swiney. The reviewer praises the book as a "comprehensive and cogent plea for the full enfranchisement of woman," but the extracts given are full of fallacies and baseless assertions.

- * "IGNOTA." *Privilege vs. Justice to Women.* Westminster Review, Vol. 152 (August): 128-141.

The writer gives an account of the progress made up to that time in admitting women to local administrative functions. "It costs the women of to-day more toil and trouble to secure their right to do good and honorable work for the community than to do the work itself when once that claim is secured."

The Woman of the Future. Westminster Review, Vol. 152 (July): 99-100.

1900

- **** GROVE, AGNES. *Women's Suffrage: in Time of War.* Cornhill Magazine, Vol. 82 (August): 210-222.

Reprinted in *The Human Woman* (1908), q. v.

JOHNSON, EFFIE. *Capacity in Men and Women.* Westminster Review, Vol. 153 (May): 567-576.

MEREDITH, ELLIS. *Woman and the Industrial Problem.* The Arena (Boston), Vol. 23 (April): 438-443.

The writer shows in a forcible way how "the root of slavery is financial dependence."

PATRICK, MARY MILLS. *Woman's Struggle for Liberty in Germany.* Popular Science Monthly, Vol. 56 (January): 328-337.

Interesting.

- *** TWYXCROSS, NORA. *Woman and War.* Westminster Review, Vol. 154 (July): 30-32.

An excellent brief argument to show that the tendency women have had in the past to glorify and encourage war is rapidly disappearing in proportion as woman's "sphere" is widening. "Physical force has dominated woman's

life in the past, and is the primary cause of her subjection to man; and we cannot wonder if respect for mere power often blinds her to the fact that the assertion of brute force can never right wrongs, and is but an immediate and emotional remedy. . . . As the education and training of men and women become more alike, we see that there is an increasing tendency on the part of women to admire men who sympathise with their own pursuits, and with whom they can live as true companions. The hero as warrior will fade away from the feminine mind, as woman realises a higher ideal for herself and for humanity, and attains to the broader and more humane views which are at heart congenial to her better nature."

Arguments for woman suffrage based on woman's peaceful temperament are common, but the special point established in this article is very seldom suggested.

1901

LE ROSSIGNOL, J. E. *Woman's Suffrage and Municipal Politics in Colorado*. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 18 (November): 162-165.

Temperate and sensible.

- * PARRISH, C. S. *The Womanly Woman*. Independent, Vol. 53 (April 4): 775-778.

Amusing exposure of the fallacies involved in the common use of this term.

- * PARRISH, C. S. *Women's Problems*. Independent, Vol. 53 (October 31): 2582-2585.

The writer shows how some of the "manly" virtues may serve a woman, even in the capacity of mother, better than some of the ultra-feminine qualities.

ROBERTS, H. H. *Women's Suffrage and Municipal Politics in Wyoming*. Annals of the American Academy of Municipal Government, Vol. 8 (November): 166-168.

A good and apparently impartial record.

STEWART, ELLA SEASS. *Some Ancient New Women*. The Arena (Boston), Vol. 26 (November): 513-518.

Compares Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and Abigail Adams with the present "new woman."

Woman-Liberalism. Westminster Review, Vol. 155 (February): 130-132

Not good. Undue stress laid on woman's "gifts of intuitiveness and quick perception."

1902

ANTHONY, SUSAN B. *Woman's Half-century of Evolution*. North American Review, Vol. 175 (December): 800-810.

BURGESS, H. T. *Woman's Suffrage in Colorado*. Independent, Vol. 54 (October 23): 2526-2528.

HUNT, CAROLINE L. *More Life for Woman*. Chautauquan (Meadville, Pa.), Vol. 36 (November): 189-193.

A weakened version of Mrs. Gilman's arguments.

***** LEE, VERNON. *The Economic Dependence of Women*. North American Review, Vol. 175 (July): 71-90.

An admirable exposition of the main ideas of *Women and Economics*. Vernon Lee makes illuminating comments, and adds a few suggestive ideas of her own. Moreover, her delightful literary style is calculated to win converts among people who would be frightened by Mrs. Gilman's force and brilliancy.

"What we mean by *over-sexed* is that, while men are a great many things besides being males—soldiers and sailors, tinkers and tailors, and all the rest of the nursery rhyme—women are, first and foremost, *females*, and then again females, and then—still more females. It is a case for paraphrasing Danton; only that, alas! there is a considerable difference between '*de l'audace, de l'audace, et encore de l'audace,*' and '*de la femme, de la femme, et encore de la femme.*'" (p. 83.) "The economic dependence of women has not merely limited the amount of productive bodily and mental work at the disposal of the community, but it has very seriously increased the mal-distribution of that work by creating, within the community, a system of units of virtuous egoism, a network of virtuous rapacity which has made the supposed organic social whole a mere gigantic delusion. Virtuous egoism, and virtuous rapacity; for *it* is virtuous on the man's part to sacrifice himself for another human being, and the consciousness of the virtue enables the sacrifice to be extended, with a clear conscience, to the interests of the community at large. A man has to be first a good father and husband, and then, with such honesty as remains over, a good citizen." (p. 84.) "Woman—even letting alone *La Femme*—is, so to speak, the last scientific survival of the pre-Darwinian belief in the invariability of types; *Woman*, I may add, is almost a relic of the philosophy of the Middle Ages; for has not *Woman* an *essence*, something quite apart from herself, an essence like the *virtus dormitiva* of opium (not always so tranquillising), an essential quality of being—well, being a woman?" (p. 89.)

RAINE, WILLIAM MACLEOD. *Woman Suffrage in Colorado*. Chautauquan (Meadville, Pa.), Vol. 34 (February): 482-484.

Inconclusive.

- ***** SALTER, WILLIAM M. *What is the Real Emancipation of Woman?* Atlantic Monthly. Vol. 89 (January): 28-35.

"Woman is coming to believe herself a person. . . . Home should be a place to rest in, to be refreshed in, to get strength for larger tasks. It is already that for man; it might conceivably be so—at least, more than it is—for woman." "The true wealth of a state is not in its dollars, but in its self-conscious citizenship. . . . It is not maleness, but humanity, that is the true basis of a state. That women are coming to realise that they are members of humanity, that they have the essential human rights and duties, that they are not simply an appendage to mankind, told off to keep it going, is one of the most encouraging signs of the times." This is one of the best of the many essays written under the influence of Mrs. Gilman's ideas. The argument in this case is especially persuasive, because the writer, unlike Mrs. Gilman, has a sympathetic understanding of the conservative point of view.

SUTHERLAND, Duchess of. *Woman and Her Sphere*. North American Review, Vol. 174 (May): 632-639.

A sentimental discussion of the benefits to be derived from the widening of woman's sphere. The point of view is undemocratic; in fact, though the writer is in favor of woman's emancipation, one feels that she must have become so by some accident, since the tone of the essay is distinctly illiberal.

THOMPSON, FLORA McDONALD. *The Work of Wives*. The Arena (Boston), Vol. 27 (January): 68-75.

The Progress of Women. Quarterly Review, Vol. 195 (January): 201-220.

Well written and sympathetic, but too conservative in the matter of the economic status of woman.

1903

BURNS, JAMES. *The Position of Women in Russia*.
Westminster Review, Vol. 159 (April): 429-435.

COBBE, FRANCES POWER. *Woman Suffrage*. Contemporary Review, Vol. 83 (May): 653-660.

Illogical, in that it assumes two things in favor of which there is not even a valid presumption—that women are intellectually somewhat inferior to men, and that they are morally decidedly superior. The article contains, however, a good review of famous women sovereigns, in which it is shown that women are fully the equals of men in the sense for politics.

COLBY, CLARA BEWICK. *Elizabeth Cady Stanton*. The Arena (Boston), Vol. 29 (February): 152-160.

DIGGS, ANNIE L. "*Republics versus Woman*." A Review and a Rejoinder. Westminster Review, Vol. 160 (July): 89-99.

Good.

** DUMORET, MARCEL. *Le Vote des femmes en Nouvelle-Zélande*. La Nouvelle Revue, Vol. 23 (July): 75-82.

Very good. One valuable point made is that woman suffrage was obtained in New Zealand despite the indifference (almost amounting to opposition) of the greater number of women of the middle and upper classes.

GAFFNEY, MRS. FANNIE HUMPHREYS. *Woman's Actual Position in a Republic*: A Rejoinder. North American Review, Vol. 177 (October): 544-551.

The article (by the author of *Republics versus Woman*) to which this is a reply is so absurd that the refutation is of no present interest.

HILL, WILLIAM K. *The Essential Equality of Man and Woman*. Westminster Review, Vol. 160 (December): 647-664.

Diffuse style, and no originality.

- * MCILQUHAM, HARRIET. *Some Further Eighteenth Century Advocates of Justice for Women*. Westminster Review, Vol. 159 (February): 167-179.

Very interesting.

- * MCILQUHAM, HARRIET. *Women's Suffrage in the Early Nineteenth Century*. Westminster Review, Vol. 160 (November): 539-551.

An account of the writings of Condorcet, Mary Wollstonecraft, Count Ségur, and others of this period.

McILROY, ARTHUR. *How Women are Winning the Ballot*. National Magazine (Boston), Vol. 18 (March): 107-110.

Short sketch of progress, with pictures. No good argument.

STORY, DOUGLAS. *The Woman in Politics*. Munsey's Magazine, Vol. 32 (May): 256-263.

- * "IGNOTA." *"In Our Midst."* Westminster Review, Vol. 159 (February): 186-192.

The article consists chiefly of interesting quotations from Mr. Stead's *In Our Midst*, in which the subjection of women is held responsible for most of the ills of civilisation.

"IGNOTA." *Justice to Womanhood*. Westminster Review, Vol. 160 (July): 76-83.

"IGNOTA." *"Republics versus Women."* Westminster Review, Vol. 159 (June): 643-651.

A reply to *Republics versus Women* in which that book gets more serious treatment than it deserves.

"IGNOTA." *Woman's Lost Citizenship.* Westminster Review, Vol. 159 (May): 512-522.

Most of the points made apply to England alone, and would not interest Americans.

1904

CARPENTER, ELIZABETH. *More Truth about Woman in Industry.* North American Review, Vol. 179 (July): 215-225.

An adequate, but not a forceful, answer to an article that had pronounced woman in industry to be a "frightful failure."

** DIX, DOROTHY. *Woman's Inhumanity to Woman.* Everybody's Magazine, Vol. 10 (May): 633-635.

The end of the article is especially good, and the moral is particularly applicable to the woman suffrage question. "Perhaps their [women's] attitude is the result of the old conditions of society when every woman's happiness, her pleasures, and her requisites, depended upon the favor of man, and when each woman naturally regarded every other woman with suspicion as a poacher that it was safest to shoot at sight. This theory is borne out by the fact that wherever women are most independent and freest, there does the spirit of sisterhood most prevail."

FRANKLIN, FREDERIC S. *Women and their Emancipation.* Westminster Review, Vol. 161 (April): 407-419.

Not good.

- ** GILMAN, CHARLOTTE PERKINS. *Domestic Economy*. Independent, Vol. 56 (June 16): 1359-1363.

- *** GILMAN, CHARLOTTE PERKINS. *The Growing Power of Woman*: Impressions of the Congress in Berlin. Booklovers' Magazine, Vol. 4 (September): 385-390.

"So long as the mothers of the world give to their children only the intensely personal sentiments of the primitive home, no social advance of the father can wholly counteract their heavy influence. . . . In this new life, this broad humanitarian work, we are building a new motherhood of immense advantage to the world. It is not only in direct physical heredity that this is felt, . . . but in the broader social heredity, which works far more rapidly."

- ** GOLDSTEIN, VIDA. *The Political Woman in Australia*. Nineteenth Century, Vol. 56 (July): 105-112.

HARPER, IDA HUSTED. *Why Women cannot Vote in the United States*. North American Review, Vol. 179 (July): 30-41.

The writer makes the unwarranted assumption that women are essentially more moral and spiritual than men.

- * HARPER, IDA HUSTED. *Women in the Jury-Box*. National Magazine (Boston), Vol. 20 (April): 40-45.

- * HARPER, IDA HUSTED. *Would Woman Suffrage Benefit the State, and Woman Herself?* North American Review, Vol. 178 (March): 362-373.

A good reply to an article called *Woman's Assumption of Sex Superiority*, by Annie Nathan Meyer. Mrs. Harper claims too much, however, for what women will do with the ballot. The best point made is this: "Conceding all that may be said as to the shortcomings of women, it must still be acknowledged that they are better prepared to

exercise the suffrage than any class which has ever been admitted to the electorate."

HOLDER, LADY. *Women's Suffrage in Australia*. Independent, Vol. 56 (June 9): 1309-1311.

Good.

HUMPHREYS, W. H. *Female Suffrage and its Implications*. Social-Democrat (London), Vol. 8 (October): 597-601.

Good, from the socialist standpoint.

PENNELL, ELIZABETH ROBINS. *The Woman Question in Utopia*. Lippincott's Magazine, Vol. 73 (April): 447-455.

An amusing light essay. The writer shows how small a part is allotted to women in man's Utopias, from St. Augustine's to Bellamy's. "Man, left to himself, free to be generous at no risk of personal discomfort, has done less for woman than nature and circumstances working together."

SAVILLE, SARAH E. *Are Women Ready for the Franchise?* Westminster Review, Vol. 162 (September): 255-261.

A very poor answer to the argument that woman's bad management of the servant question, and of other matters that have hitherto been under her direction, shows her to be unfitted to exercise the suffrage.

**** STREET, G. S. *A Question of Women*. Fortnightly Review, Vol. 76, old ser. 82 (July 1): 147-153.

A complaint of the unfair distribution of work between men and women in the middle classes. "Large numbers of men are at this disadvantage, that they have to work both for their own subsistence and for that of an idle person as well, and are at the same time exposed to the competition of women who have the spring-board of private

security at the expense of other men's work." "Female competition, this step towards economic independence of women, is a possible remedy for such grievances as I have mentioned."

TREVELYAN, CAROLINE. *Women in Local Government*. Independent Review, Vol. 3 (June): 40-47.

- * WASHBURN, MARION FOSTER. *Masculine and Feminine Occupations*. North American Review, Vol. 179 (October): 555-568.

The contention is twofold: first, that the business of making homes and rearing children has both its masculine and its feminine side (the masculine side being at present neglected); and, second, that there is no really sound objection to woman's taking her part in the business world. The point that the regular hours and methodical nature of business and professions are really far less wearing than the incessant cares of housekeeping, is well brought out.

- * "IGNOTA." *The Grand Old Woman of To-day*. Westminster Review, Vol. 161 (March): 321-326.

A good essay on Susan B. Anthony and the significance of her work.

"IGNOTA." *Women in International Conference*. Westminster Review, Vols. 162 and 163 (November, December, 1904; January, 1905): 522-539; 665-674; 56-66.

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- * BOSANQUET, HELEN. *The Intellectual Influence of Women*. International Journal of Ethics, Vol. 16 (October): 15-24.

Good, logical, but rather too conservative. The plea is that women be measured by the same standards as men,

intellectually, but there seems to be a presumption in the writer's mind that women as a class will never be the full intellectual equals of men. A good starting-ground for conservatives.

- ** CAIRD, MONA. *The Duel of the Sexes: A Comment.*
Fortnightly Review, Vol. 84 (July): 109-122.

An excellent reply to Elizabeth Robins (*The Dark Lantern*) and Lucas Malet.

- *** CHANNING, GRACE ELLERY. *The Marriage Question.*
Harper's Monthly Magazine, Vol. 111 (August): 435-446.

An excellent story. The moral—clearly but not crudely taught—is that marriages will be happier when there is more comradeship between men and women, when the wife is no longer either a parasite or a drudge, but a human being whose work is on the same plane with that of her husband.

- *** GROVE, AGNES. "The Threatened Re-subjection of Women." A Reply to Lucas Malet. Fortnightly Review, Vol. 84 (July): 123-128.

Reprinted in *The Human Woman* (1908), q. v.

- *** LANE, ANNIE E. *The Extravagant Economy of Women.*
Fortnightly Review, Vol. 84 (July): 129-135.

A clever arraignment of the economic unimportance of women. The essay exposes a very prevalent and very pernicious fallacy—viz., that a woman does greater service to the household by saving a penny than she would by earning a pound. "We are adepts at the idle industries because our time is of no earthly consequence. Think of the miles of lace we crochet, the impossible embroideries we make, the countless odds and ends we construct, of no earthly use except to catch dust." "What women need is

to be taught unextravagant economy, which includes the value both of money and of time, for the day is coming when women's time will be really worth something." The sooner women realize their present inefficiency, the sooner they will demand the suffrage.

SWINEY, FRANCES. *The Evolution of the Male*. Westminster Review, Vol. 163 (March and April): 272-278, 449-455.

An odd mixture of science and mysticism, very difficult to understand. The writer attempts to prove that the male is a lower form of the female. The reader's discomfort is increased by the absurdly high-flown style of the essay.

SWINEY, FRANCES. *Women among the Nations*. Westminster Review, Vol. 164 (October and November): 409-419, 539-551.

The ideas are very much the same as those in *The Evolution of the Male*. The style is also the same. This is an example: "We must realise one fact in its vast and overpowering significance: Nature and Femininity are one. Motherhood is the basic principle of creation. From that source all flows."

"IGNOTA." *How the Vote has Affected Womanhood in Colorado*. Westminster Review, Vol. 163 (March): 266-271.

The article consists largely of quotations and summaries from the report of the hearing before the United States House Committee on the Judiciary, 1904, q. v. Some of the speeches are well summarized, but the essay as a whole is less effective than the two best speeches of the hearing (Mrs. Ellis Meredith's and Mrs. Catt's).



"IGNOTA." *The Enfranchisement of Women.* Westminster Review, Vol. 164 (July): 21-25.

Considers plans for getting the Woman's Enfranchisement Bill discussed in the House of Commons.

"IGNOTA." *The Enfranchisement of Women.* Westminster Review, Vol. 164 (November): 495-497.

Questions of party tactics.

"IGNOTA." *The Present Legal Position of Women in the United Kingdom.* Westminster Review, Vol. 163 (May): 513-529.

Mon Féminisme. Westminster Review, Vol. 164 (July): 72-76. Review of *Mon féminisme*, by S. Poirson.

Interesting, but it makes no unusual point.

A Note on Women's Suffrage from the Common-Sense Point of View. Nineteenth Century and After, Vol. 58 (August): 306-307.

Woman Suffrage Advancing. Editorial. Independent, Vol. 59 (August 24): 469.

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* ABBOTT, EDITH. *Woman Suffrage Militant: The New Movement in England.* Independent, Vol. 61 (November 29): 1276-1278.

* BALFOUR, FRANCES. *Woman Suffrage.* Westminster Review, Vol. 166 (December): 623-625.

* GILMAN, CHARLOTTE PERKINS. *Dr. Weininger's "Sex and Character."* The Critic, Vol. 48 (May): 414-417.

Good ridicule, but the book reviewed is so absurd that the review cannot be effective for general purposes.



- ** GROSSMAN, EDITH SEARLE. *Woman Suffrage in New Zealand*. Empire Review, Vol. 11 (April): 228-235.

HARPER, IDA HUSTED. *Is Woman Suffrage a Waning Issue?* Collier's, Vol. 37 (August 25): 28-30.

HARPER, IDA HUSTED. *The Present Status of Woman Suffrage*. The World To-day (Chicago), Vol. 11 (December): 1264-1268.

HARPER, IDA HUSTED. *Suffrage—a Right*. North American Review, Vol. 183 (September): 484-498.

- * HARPER, IDA HUSTED. *Susan B. Anthony: The Woman and her Work*. North American Review, Vol. 182 (April): 604-616.

This is perhaps the most interesting of the accounts of Miss Anthony's life.

- * HENRY, ALICE. *The Australian Woman and the Ballot*. North American Review, Vol. 183 (December 21): 1272-1279.

Interesting account of how woman suffrage was obtained in Australia, and how it has worked.

HOLYOAKE, GEORGE JACOB. *Woman Suffrage: A Suggestion*. Independent Review, Vol. 9 (April): 61-70.

Suggests an electoral college for women, in which every hundred members should be entitled to nominate one of their order to vote in the election of members of parliament for their borough. Rather vague.

LANE, MICHAEL A. *Man in Perspective*. National Magazine (Boston), Vol. 23 (January): 398-403.

Forcible sociological argument, but calculated to repel those who are unfamiliar with this line of thought.

MARGHIERI, PROF. ALBERTO. *Il Diritto di Voto alle Donne*. Rivista d'Italia, Anno IX., (July): 173-196.

PAGET, LUCY GARDNER. *The Coming Power*. Monthly Review (London), Vol. 24 (July): 35-42.

Anti-democratic.

PATTEN, SIMON N. *Some New Adjustments for Women*. Independent, Vol. 61 (September 20): 674-681.

Good argument for woman's economic independence.

RANSOM, MILDRED. *A Plea for Civic Rights for Woman*. Empire Review, Vol. 12 (September): 142-149.

SHAW, F. J. *Women's Votes and Party Tactics*. Independent Review, Vol. 11 (December): 274-282.

Good, but it deals chiefly with questions of immediate party tactics.

*** THOMAS, W. I. *The Adventitious Character of Woman*. American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 12 (July): 32-44. Reprinted in *Sex and Society* (1907).

** THORESBY, FREDERICK. *Woman and Woman's Suffrage*. Westminster Review, Vol. 166 (November): 522-530.

* TREVELYAN, CAROLINE. *The Case for Women's Suffrage*. Independent Review, Vol. 10 (September): 289-297.

Good, but rather dry.

TUCKWELL, GERTRUDE M. *Women's Opportunity*. Contemporary Review, Vol. 85 (March): 546-556.

Of no present interest.

* "IGNOTA." *The Case for the Immediate Enfranchisement of the Women of the United Kingdom*. Westminster Review, Vol. 166 (November): 508-521.

"IGNOTA." *Susan B. Anthony*. Westminster Review, Vol. 165 (May): 547-555.

Le Droit de suffrage pour les femmes. La Révue Socialiste, 44 (July-December): 145-166.

Letters to the review in favor of woman suffrage from prominent socialists of different countries.

** *Good Women a Majority*. Editor's Diary. North American Review, Vol. 183 (December 21): 1333-1335.

Good answer to the *Times'* objection that if woman suffrage is secured prostitutes will vote. The article quotes at some length a statement by Judge Lindsey, which should carry great weight.

* *The Necessity of Woman Suffrage*. Editor's Diary. North American Review, Vol. 183 (October 5): 688-689.

This is the first editorial advocacy of woman suffrage by the *North American Review*. The *Review* probably has the weight of authority with many people; otherwise the argument would not be notable. It is interesting, however, as an indication of how largely "practical" arguments for woman suffrage have taken the place of arguments from abstract right. This is the last sentence: "For the purposes, therefore, of purifying the ballot, of establishing and maintaining lofty standards as to qualifications required of candidates for public office, of effecting an even distribution of earnings, of providing a heavier balance of disinterestedness and conservatism against greed and radicalism, we reiterate the expression of our firm belief that universal suffrage has now become, not only desirable, but almost a paramount necessity."

Newspapers on Woman Suffrage. Editor's Diary. North American Review, Vol. 183 (November 16): 1080-1082.

Votes for Women. Editorial. The Speaker (London), Vol. 14 (May 26): 176-177.

- * *Why Girls are Uninteresting.* Editor's Diary. North American Review, Vol. 183 (December); 1212-1214.

The answer is that while boys are being trained for work in the world, girls are being trained to capture husbands.

Woman Suffrage in Colorado. Editor's Diary. North American Review, Vol. 183 (December): 1203-1206.

Of Woman's "Inherent Right" to Vote. North American Review, Vol. 183 (October): 630-632.

Good.

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BEARD, ANNIE E. S. *Women in Politics.* The World To-day, Vol. 13 (August): 794-800.

- * BILLINGTON-GRIEG, TERESA. *The Conservatism of Woman.* Albany Review (London), Vol. 1 (May): 163-169.

The chief object of the essay is to show that woman is essentially conservative only in the best sense—that she is not retrogressive and inert, but that she is “the conservative life-force . . . needed to influence, initiate, and hasten the social and economic reforms of the world.” The article is well written, but one hesitates to accept the very optimistic conclusion. After all, one has to choose: one must either run the risk of losing the good with the bad, or else be content to keep the bad with the good. It is hard to see by what magic woman is to be released from this dilemma.

- * BILLINGTON-GRIEG, TERESA. *Suffragist Tactics: Past and Present.* Fortnightly Review, Vol. 88, new ser. 82 (July): 65-76.

A strong argument to prove that “rebellion gives the only possibility . . . of that freedom which the women of

the nation need." The writer does not fully make her point—that no other way is possible, but on the whole the argument for militant methods is sound and forcibly presented.

BLAKESLEE, G. H. *Woman Suffrage in Finland*. Outlook, Vol. 87 (September 7): 35-39.

BRANTING, HJALMAR. *Das Wahlrecht der Frauen*. Sozialistische Monatshefte, Vol. 2 (August): 654-660.

Good, from the socialist standpoint

- ** BRIGHT, FLORENCE. *The True Inwardness of the Woman's Movement*. Fortnightly Review, Vol. 87, new ser. 81 (April): 733-739.

A very stirring appeal by one of the suffragettes who went to prison.

BUTLER, ELIZABETH B. *A Cobden of To-day*. [Mrs. Cobden-Sanderson.] Charities and the Commons, Vol. 19 (December 7): 1157-1161.

- ** CHANNING, GRACE ELLERY. *Backgrounds*. Harper's Monthly Magazine, Vol. 115 (July): 67-76.

An excellent story; indirectly a good argument for the suffrage, since it shows the absurdity and the evil consequences of the present condition of most educated women—hypercultivation of the intellect without a corresponding practical outlet for activity. For a full discussion of this point, cf. *The Hedda Gabler of To-day* (Fortnightly Review, July, 1907).

CONYBEARE, FLORENCE A. V. *Woman's Suffrage: Some Objections Answered*. Empire Review, Vol. 14 (November): 282-287.

DUNBAR, OLIVIA HOWARD. *The World's Half Citizens*.
Everybody's Magazine, Vol. 16 (March): 411-416.

The usual arguments, but an uncommonly well written light essay.

- * ELMY, ELIZABETH C. WOLSTENHOLME. *The Enfranchisement of Women*. Westminster Review, Vol. 168 (September): 268-281.

A strong case for aggressive action on the part of English suffragists—especially for opposition to the Liberal party so long as it resists their claims.

ELMY, ELIZABETH C. WOLSTENHOLME. *Woman and the Law*. Westminster Review, Vol. 163 (October): 394-397.

Gives some interesting information about English law relating to married women, with special reference to the need of woman suffrage.

FRASER, HELEN. *The Franchise of Women*. Westminster Review, Vol. 167 (June): 670-672.

A poor answer to a poor article.

- * GASKELL, ELLEN S. *Women's Sphere of Work*. Westminster Review, Vol. 167 (March): 323-329.

***** GORE-BOOTH, EVA. *Women and Politics: A Reply*. Nineteenth Century, Vol. 61 (March): 472-476.

An admirable reply to an anti-suffrage article. The chief point made is that of the need of the vote for working women. "They are, whether they like it or no, in the thick of the world's battle, and the very disqualification that Miss Stephen welcomes as a kind of privilege is a source of disablement and extreme weakness in industrial warfare."

- ** GROSSMANN, EDITH SEARLE. *Women of New Zealand*. Empire Review, Vol. 14 (September): 138-148.

HARPER, IDA HUSTED. *Electing Women to Parliament: Unhappy Finland Chooses Women as well as Men to Serve in the National Body that must Reorganise the State*. The World To-day, Vol. 13 (October): 1108-1112.

Interesting account of the work of women in Finland.

HARPER, IDA HUSTED. *The Work of the International Council of Women*. The World To-day, Vol. 13 (July): 697-701.

Chiefly a review of the work done by the different national councils of women.

- * KNOBE, BERTHA DAMARIS. *The Suffragists' Uprising*. Appleton's Magazine, Vol. 10 (December): 773-779.

Gives a good account of the progress of the movement and a map of the United States showing which states have equal suffrage, which states have municipal suffrage for women, which states have some form of school suffrage for women, etc.

- * MACNAGHTEN, PROF. R. E. *A Plea for Woman Suffrage in Canada*. Canadian Magazine (Toronto), Vol. 29 (June): 146-152.

Contains (pp. 148-149) a good defence of the suffragettes. The tone of the article is in a general sense conservative, however, and great stress is laid on the value of the "family vote." Most wives, the writer says, would vote with their husbands, and "the vote of the married man in any community is always and necessarily a conservative vote in the best sense of the term. The married man, from the very fact that he 'has given hostages to fortune,' represents more than any other man the element of stability in national life."

PEARCE, I. D. *Women and Sweated Industries*. Westminster Review, Vol. 168 (December): 622-624.

The contention is that it is unwise for women to dissipate their energy by trying to secure specific reforms, instead of concentrating it entirely upon agitation for the suffrage.

PEARCE, I. D. *The Enfranchisement of Women*. Westminster Review, Vol. 168 (July): 17-22.

Good, but not up to the *Westminster Review* standard.

RAINE, WILLIAM MACLEOD. *The Truth about Woman Suffrage in Colorado*. The Circle (New York), Vol. 2 (October): 220-222.

***** SMEDLEY, CONSTANCE. *The Hedda Gabler of To-day*. Fortnightly Review, Vol. 88, new ser. 82 (July): 77-90.

An exceedingly interesting and keen study of the Hedda Gabler type as a necessary outcome of conditions and ideals which are only now being superseded. "There is no knowledge less useful and more pernicious than the purely theoretical. This wave of hyper-culture had the disastrous effect of making the feminine mind even more sensitive than it was before; and the study of emotion became a positive disease with the isolated woman, who, shut off from the working world, had only her own temperament to dissect, analyse, and eternally ponder over. Introspection was the intellectual woman's chief occupation; and the morbidly refined and super-æsthetical egotist was evolved of whom Hedda Gabler is the apotheosis." "But as the home bars fell, and freedom became more general—as the women felt their feet on the solid ground of life—this intense struggle for personal emancipation began to slacken because there was no need for it." "So the Hedda Gabler of to-day is entering on the battlefield which has been reserved for men and is having the discipline which comes with active fight-

ing . . . It is well that conditions are so changing that an outlet is opening for her energy, which energy, pitting itself against the common human forces, may now discover that it too is only human; for while it is easy for a keen intelligence to feel superior and aloof as long as it is shut off from the arena and only watches, that same intelligence waxes more sympathetic when it descends to take its place in the ranks. Down in the working world, out of the half lights and perfumed confines of the drawing-room, the Hedda Gabler woman loses her superiority of aspect. The ordered things of life no longer seem petty, dull and commonplace. Discipline becomes no longer stupid; she sees its necessity."

***** STAWELL, F. MELIAN. *Women and Democracy*. International Journal of Ethics, Vol. 17 (April): 329-336.

An admirable exposition, first of the basic principle of democracy itself, and then of the woman question as involved in this principle. "To those who value individuality above all things, who would rather see individuals struggling along on their own feet than propped up by others, who would prefer them to realise that their actions had consequences and that they must use their own judgment, even if they choose the wrong consequence, and use the judgment foolishly—to thinkers of this temper, and they are the true democrats, the mere fact that women are not allowed officially to exercise that judgment and control that action is in itself a grave evil. . . . It is this that determines the attitude of such observers as they look at the main features of the actual situation. For instance, they may hold that the grant of the franchise would probably bring little external change; in some matters, as in the case of children and the sick, women's advice might be of special help; for certain abuses, such as drunkenness, increased attention might be roused; on the other hand they see the danger of a large apathetic electorate, capable of being roused at times

by an eager canvass to take a line not calculated beforehand. But they see also, and this for them turns the scale, the pressing need that women, like men, and more than men at present, should realise that in the modern world they must be either citizens or ciphers."

STOBART, M. A. *Sex and Suffrage*. Fortnightly Review, Vol. 87, new ser. 81 (May): 857-867.

Biological and sociological argument. Good points are made, but the tone is not sufficiently calm for an argument of which the force should be intellectual, not emotional.

STÖCKER, HELEN. *The Woman's Movement in Germany*. Independent, Vol. 62 (May 23): 1192-1196.

***** THOMAS, W. I. *The Mind of Woman and the Lower Races*. American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 12 (January): 435-469.

Reprinted in *Sex and Society* (see p. 107).

* WARREN, MOLLY. *The Housekeeper's Need of the Ballot*. The World To-day, Vol. 12 (April): 418-421.

* WAYCOTT, ELISABETH GRISWOLD. *Women's Work in the Western World*. East and West (Bombay), Vol. 6 (August): 782-792.

The writer points out the significance of the fact that the development of the social conscience has been practically contemporaneous with woman's entrance into the field of organised philanthropy.

Improved Prospects of Woman Suffrage. Editorial. Harper's Weekly, Vol. 51 (July 6): 974.

Progress of Woman Suffrage. Editorial. Independent, Vol. 63 (July 4): 49-50.

An account of the success of the cause in Finland, Norway and Sweden.

Woman's Arguments against Woman Suffrage. Editor's Diary. North American Review, Vol. 184 (March): 558-560.

Not very good ridicule.

- * *Woman's Part in the Ascent of Man.* Editorial. Harper's Weekly, Vol. 51 (January): 44-45.

The Women Reply. Letters to the *Independent* in reply to *A Clergyman's Opinion of Women.* Independent, Vol. 63 (September 19): 665-671.

Most of the letters are poor, but the first six are good.

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- * ABBOTT, EDITH. *The English Working-Woman and the Franchise.* Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 102 (September): 193-206.

- * AKED, CHARLES F. *The Woman Movement in England.* North American Review, Vol. 188 (November): 650-658.

An interesting account of the progress made.

- ***** BARROW, F. H. *The Political Responsibility of Women.* Westminster Review, Vol. 170 (September): 264-267.

The writer makes a point which is receiving more and more emphasis every year, but which can hardly be emphasised too much. "Our chief plea, therefore, for woman suffrage is not that she is now denied a right . . . but that the time is ripe for her to be called on to bear her share of social responsibility. . . . The wrong done is not so much to the individual woman as to the community. . . . Mill makes too much of the privilege side of political representation; and so the ready rejoinder comes that few women want the vote. But the supreme human weakness is laziness."

ness, to enjoy what we have not labored for, to reap where we have not sown; and as soon as woman becomes a property owner, and is given power over others by the possession and expenditure of wealth, she has incurred political responsibility. If she is to be voteless, let her also be propertyless. But the progress of the world has conferred too much power on her to allow her the old place of civil incompetency. . . . In a modern world, where politics chiefly concern the rights and wrongs of our fellow citizens, surely women should be made responsible equally with men."

- * BILLINGTON-GRIEG, TERESA. *The Rebellion of Woman*. Contemporary Review, Vol. 94 (July): 1-10.

BILLINGTON-GRIEG, TERESA. *The Sex-Disability and Adult Suffrage*. Fortnightly Review, Vol. 90, new ser. 84 (August): 358-371.

BROOKS, SYDNEY. *Why Suffragettes Win in England*. Harper's Weekly, Vol. 52 (February 15): 22.

- ** CAIRD, MONA. *Militant Tactics and Women's Suffrage*. Westminster Review, Vol. 170 (November): 525-530.

- * CHAPMAN, A. BEATRICE WALLIS. *Woman's Progress and the Woman's Press: An Answer*. Albany Review (London), Vol. 3 (June): 347-350.

Good answer to an article in the *Albany Review* for April, 1908. But there is a better answer to the same article in Lady Grove's *The Human Woman*.

COBDEN-SANDERSON, ANNE. *American Impressions*. Independent, Vol. 64 (February 20): 392-395.

An appeal to American women to work for the suffrage. Contains little in the way of argument.

- * DIXON, CLARISSA. *Women and Nature*. Westminster Review, Vol. 169 (March): 283-291.

ELMY, ELIZABETH C. WOLSTENHOLME. *Justice between the Sexes*. Westminster Review, Vol. 169 (January): 29-40.

- * ELMY, ELIZABETH C. WOLSTENHOLME. *Party Politicians and Justice to Women*. Westminster Review, Vol. 170 (July): 40-42.

- * FLETCHER, TREVOR. *Historic Franchise*. Westminster Review, Vol. 169 (April): 523-531.

- ** GILMAN, CHARLOTTE PERKINS. *Should Wives Work?* Success, Vol. 5 (September): 501-502.

- * GILMAN, CHARLOTTE PERKINS. *Woman and the Ballot: A Study of Woman's Civic Obligations under the Newer Democracy*. Marsh's Magazine (Boston): Vol. 1 (October): 5-12.

The article contains some fine passages, but it is disjointed and thus ineffective. The best section is *Our Relation to the State*.

- ***** GORE-BOOTH, EVA. *Women and the Suffrage: A Reply to Lady Lovat and Mrs. Humphrey Ward*. Nineteenth Century and After, Vol. 64 (September): 495-506.

An admirable and direct answer to the most plausible of anti-suffrage arguments. The writer makes good use of wit and common sense, and often rises to real eloquence. "As to the education question, Lady Lovat quotes Plato in support of the view that to draw out the Divine Image in a human being is a greater work than the making of a beautiful statue. This is no doubt true, but there are few who would venture to assert that a man or a woman of genius, an artist or a thinker, could not be as useful an instrument

to awaken the Divine Image in another person's soul as an ordinary domestic person immersed in trivialities. Influence is no question of time. No women of any class really educate their children, they provide teachers for them or send them to school. Their own influence is confined for the most part to what they are and what they know—the real source of all power. If any one wishes to have influence, let her not forget Maeterlinck's fable about the man in the light-house, who gave away the oil in his lamp to the poor, and thus lost his power to save great ships from destruction. And it is one of the enduring happinesses of life that everything we learn and every strength we gain makes our lamp burn brighter and thus enables us to help other people."

"They [the working men] realise in a way that the leisured classes cannot, that it is the present outcast position of working women that forces them to pull down the rate for everybody by accepting such very low pay." "Whilst women have no votes they cannot have accredited political representatives. Labor questions are involved and difficult, and when factory laws are ignorantly and theoretically drafted, without due regard to the practical interests of some section of workers, it is no comfort to those workers to know that some 'distinguished' woman favored among politicians has been consulted about their affairs. This sort of so-called representation is no safeguard to anybody; if it were, men would never have felt the need for democratic institutions, and England might still be peaceably governed by irresponsible rulers who, by right of birth, consider themselves and one another fit to coerce the multitude for their good."

GOULDING, EDWARD. *The Representation of Women: A Tory Plea for Woman Suffrage*. Nineteenth Century and After, Vol. 64 (December): 1024-1029.

Good.

- * GROSSMANN, EDITH SEARLE. *The Woman Movement in New Zealand*. Westminster Review, Vol. 170 (July): 43-53.

Good, but not quite as good as the article by the same author in the *Empire Review*, April, 1906. The two articles are much the same in substance.

- HARPER, IDA HUSTED. *The International Woman Suffrage Congress*. Independent, Vol. 65 (July 28): 192-195.

- HARPER, IDA HUSTED. *Men versus Women*. An Indictment. Independent, Vol. 64 (April 2): 741-744.

Forcible to the point of violence.

- HARPER, IDA HUSTED. *Recent Congress of the International Council of Women*. North American Review, Vol. 188 (November): 659-665.

- HARPER, IDA HUSTED. *Woman Suffrage Congress*. Independent, Vol. 65 (July 23): 192-195.

- JONES, GLADYS. *Suffragists Again*. Westminster Review, Vol. 169 (March): 292-298.

- KNOBE, BERTHA DAMARIS. *Votes for Women: An Object Lesson*. Harper's Weekly, Vol. 52 (April 25): 20-21.

- *** MAUD, CONSTANCE ELIZABETH. *Methods of the Suffragettes*. Albany Review (London), Vol. 3 (July): 202-214.

Uncommonly good defence.

- * MEREDITH, ELLIS. *What it Means to be an Enfranchised Woman*. Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 102 (August): 196-202.

An account of how woman suffrage has improved some conditions in Colorado. Presented in a more than usually

interesting fashion, and good also in that it does not claim too much.

PAGET, LUCY GARDNER. *Nemesis*. Westminster Review, Vol. 169 (January): 41-47.

PARSONS, FRANK. *Shall our Mothers, Wives and Sisters be our Equals or our Subjects?* The Arena (Boston), Vol. 40 (July): 92-94.

PEARCE, I. D. *An Awakening Womanhood*. Westminster Review, Vol. 169 (April): 444-456.

Too violent.

- * PELLETIER, DR. MADELEINE. *La Question du vote des femmes*. Révue Socialiste, Vol. 48 (September and October): 193-206, 329-341.

The first three sections deal with the history and the present state of the question; the last section (pp. 334-340) is a very good argument, though without originality. The question of socialism is not raised.

REED, F. W. HATTON. *Woman and the State*. Westminster Review, Vol. 170 (December): 629-642.

RUNYON, ALFRED DAMON. *The Woman Boss of Denver: Mrs. Anna Margaret Scott, who Garners Votes and Crops with Equal Ability*. Harper's weekly, Vol. 52 (December 26): 8 and 28.

- * RUSSELL, HON. BERTRAND. *Liberalism and Women's Suffrage*. Contemporary Review, Vol. 94 (July): 11-16.

Rather a dry summary of the case; but the argument is comprehensive and the emphasis is on the strongest points.

- *** SPENDER, HAROLD. *The Revolt of Woman*. Albany Review (London), Vol. 3 (August): 487-498.

"It is because women are treated so well in England that the revolt is here at its fiercest. For a revolution comes when things are improving. . . . The justice we do makes our injustice more flagrant. When we are punished for our shortcomings, it is our virtues that seem to bring the thunderbolt."

- *** THOMAS, W. I. *The Adventitious Character of Woman*. American Magazine, Vol. 66 (October): 523-530.

This article is practically a reprint from the eighth essay in *Sex and Society* (see p. 107); the few changes are inconsiderable.

- **** THOMAS, W. I. *The Mind of Woman*. American Magazine, Vol. 67 (December): 146-152.

Practically the same as the chapter on *The Mind of Woman and the Lower Races*, in *Sex and Society* (see p. 107).

- ** THOMAS, W. I. *The Psychology of Woman's Dress*. American Magazine, Vol. 67 (November): 66-72.

The significance of this article for the suffrage question is shown in the following passage (p. 72): "Women have a base of maternal feeling that makes them more social than men, and if the economic value of the superfluity of their dress and the energy and attention they waste in following the fashions were devoted to humanistic enterprises, we should be in a fair way to add the elements lacking to make our machine system a civilisation. . . . The change will come gradually, as women become more intelligent and independent, and of themselves experience the expulsive power of a new affection."

- * WELLS, Mrs. B. BORRMAN. *The Militant Movement for Woman Suffrage*. Independent, Vol. 64 (April 23): 901-903.

Good defence of the militant methods.

WORTLEY, VIOLET STUART. *Feminism in England and France*. National Review, Vol. 51 (July): 789-799.

The Tactics of Woman Suffrage. Editorial. Independent, Vol. 64 (April 23): 930-932.

A fair criticism of the suffragette methods. "The cause of woman's enfranchisement is man's as much as it is woman's. . . . What the women are striving for is to get rid of sex prejudice, and they must by all means avoid increasing what they want to abolish."

- * *Woman and the Land*. Editorial. Independent, Vol. 64 (May 7): 1051-1053.

With every widening of woman's "sphere," woman suffrage becomes more clearly inevitable. This editorial advocates agriculture as an occupation for women. In speaking of a Farmers' Institute composed of women, the writer says: "It was most notable that these women agriculturists held foremost the relations of food and work to the human being—the relation of labor to health as well as wealth." "There is no work at all associated with farm life, in these days, which cannot be managed by women as well as by men."

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- ** ALDIS, JAMES A. *Our Modern Bunyans*. Westminster Review, Vol. 179 (May): 491-499.

An ingenious parallel (though perhaps too much is made of it) between Bunyan and the suffragettes. Speaking of the appeals to women to stand by the Liberal party, the

writer says, "Even more cunningly than in Bunyan's time is the suggestion made to yield to autocracy for the sake of doing an immediate practical good." Of course the rule of men should not be called—as it constantly is in this article—an "autocracy."

ASHBY-MACFADYEN, IRENE M. *Woman Suffrage in South Africa*. Independent, Vol. 67 (August 19): 418-420.

BEER, HERBERT CHAPLIN DE. *Woman and Man*. Westminster Review, Vol. 179 (March): 306-308.

Bad substance and worse style. "Hand in hand, softened, inspired by the subtler influence of woman, he, she, become an entity, the earthly manifestation of the Great Cause."

BELMONT, ALVA E. *Woman's Right to Govern Herself*. North American Review, Vol. 190 (November): 664-674. Condensed in *Review of Reviews*, January 1, 1910 (pp. 100-101).

One could count on better writing than this from the average high-school student. The looseness of thought and language in this sentence is typical: "The brain which has evolved its own material and stands untrammelled by the past, when confronted by new propositions will approximately solve the situation."

BENNETT, ESTELLINE. *How Woman Suffrage Came to Wyoming*. Harper's Weekly, Vol. 53 (August 21): 28.

**** COMMANDER, LYDIA KINGSMILL. *How Does the Access of Women to Industrial Occupations React on the Family?*—The Self-Supporting Woman and the Family. American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 14 (May): 752-757.

"The great present-day task of woman is thus to remake the industrial world, to change the basis of industry from

war to co-operation, to put people before property, and life before labor. . . . In this work, the self-supporting woman of to-day is the advance guard."

- *** COMSTOCK, SARAH. *The Woman Who Votes: Campaign Days in Denver*. Collier's, Vol. 43 (April 17, May 1, May 8): 14-15, 23, and 31-32.

A lively account of women's activities in campaign times. The picture is attractive and reassuring. The writer's tone is that of a shrewd, amused observer, and her conclusion as to the happy effects of the ballot on women is the more convincing on this account. The article is calculated to have a marked effect upon many people, especially upon those who would not take the trouble to read a serious, formal argument.

- DANENBAUM, ROBY. *The College Equal Suffrage League and its Leader, Frances Squire Potter*. The World To-day, Vol. 17 (October): 1107-1108.

- DORR, RHETA CHILDE. *What Eight Million Women Want*. Hampton's Magazine, Vol. 23 (August, October, December): 168-178; 545-554; 794-805.

The third article, which is an argument for protective legislation for women in industry, is the best. The tone is rather sensational, and the root of the matter is not brought out as clearly as it is in the somewhat similar series called *The Woman's Invasion* (Everybody's, February-April, 1909).

- ** DUNNE, F. P. *Mr. Dooley on Woman's Suffrage*. American Magazine, Vol. 68 (June): 198-200.

Not in Mr. Dooley's best vein, and rather inconclusive, but still very good. He satirises the recent espousal of the cause by the plutocrats, but he satirises also the anti-suffrage arguments. Mr. Dooley has been saying that men

base their objections to the tariff, for example, on "large pathriotic grounds," which he enumerates. "But if ye put the question up to th' ladies, if women understood the tariff, which th' poor crathers don't, ye'd find they were against it f'r no higher reason thin that it made thim pay too much f'r th' childher's shoes an' stockin's. Can ye imagine annything baser thin that, to rejoyce a great question like th' tariff down to a personal level, take all the music an' pothry out iv it an' say: 'I'm agin it, not because it has lowered th' morality iv ivrywan that it has binifitted, but because it's a shame that I have to pay eighthy-six cints f'r stockin's? . . . Th' foolish, impractical little fluffy things! How cud ye explain to wan iv these ideelists why we have th' Phlippeens an' th' Sandwich Islands, an' why we keep up a navy to protiet Denver, Colorado?"

*** DUNBAR, OLIVIA HOWARD. *The City's Housekeepers*. Harper's Bazar, Vol. 13 (June): 594-596.

A very good and detailed account of the work that women are now doing in New York, in the various departments of civic housekeeping. "Conservatives who rebuke women for their inroads, voluntary or otherwise, upon men's hereditary privileges, ought logically to applaud the domestic sex for a reclaiming of duties traditionally its own. . . . The grace and propriety of those ancient tasks of hers, her divine appointment to the duties of baking, sweeping, and cradle-rocking, have often enough been dinned into her stubborn modern head. But suppose that while accepting the responsibilities that have been so passionately urged upon her, she adds that if she is competent to keep one house clean, she is competent to supervise thousands of uncared-for houses? . . . that if she is universally the guardian of children, she will not neglect those in the city schools, in the city tenements." There is in this article an uncommonly good combination of argument and examples.

GALE, ANNABEL CLARK. *Heredity: A Plea for Woman Suffrage*. Westminster Review, Vol. 172 (August): 186-190.

The general character of the argument is sound; but some of the points are insufficiently supported.

***** GILMAN, CHARLOTTE PERKINS. *Reaction of Home Conditions upon the Family*. American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 14 (March): 592-605.

Admirable condensed statement of the evils resulting from the economic dependence of women.

**** GILMAN, CHARLOTTE PERKINS. *What are Women anyway?* Collier's, Vol. 43 (June 5): 19.

Half a page of good concise argument, and half a page of amusing cartoons.

GROSSMANN, EDITH SEARLE. *The New Sex Psychology*. Westminster Review, Vol. 172 (November): 497-510.

A discussion of the attitude taken by various modern writers towards this question. Some good points are made, for feminism in general, and incidentally for woman suffrage, but the position of the writer is not made very clear. The article should have been either less argumentative or less discursive.

*** HARD, WILLIAM; RHETA CHILDE DORR, collaborator. *The Woman's Invasion*, Chaps. IV., V. and VI. Everybody's Magazine, Vol. 20 (February, March, and April): 236-248; 372-385; 521-532.

The only explicit argument for the suffrage is on page 248, but all the chief points made form valuable supports to suffrage arguments. The desirability of women's work after marriage is very well brought forward. "As long as women workers stop work at marriage they will continue to be, as

a class, low-paid, overworked, unskilled, looking only to the day and never to the future, entering industry casually without training, retiring from it unexpectedly without warning, hard to organise into trade unions, hard to interest in technical improvements, hard to inspire with financial ambition, behaving, in every respect, with the utmost good sense, just exactly in the manner in which any class of admittedly and consciously temporary workers should behave." Other sound arguments are also given for the prolongation of women's work, and the conditions by which it should be regulated are stated.

- * HARPER, IDA HUSTED. *Status of Woman Suffrage in the United States*. North American Review, Vol. 189 (April): 502-512.

Gives interesting information showing how woman suffrage has to contend against the liquor interests.

- * HARPER, IDA HUSTED. *Votes for Women*. Harper's Bazar, Vol. 43 (December): 1215-1228.

Contains a good answer to the recently advanced objection that because women are now non-partisan they have more influence in securing legislative reforms than they would if they had the suffrage.

HARPER, IDA HUSTED. *What do the Newport Suffrage Meetings Mean?* Independent, Vol. 67 (September 9): 575-579.

- * HARPER, IDA HUSTED. *What the Suffragists are Doing*. Harper's Bazar, Vols. 42 and 43 (January-December).

- ** HARPER, IDA HUSTED. *Woman's Broom in Municipal Housekeeping*. Delineator, Vol. 73 (February): 213-216.

- * HAVENS, RUTH G. D. *The Government and its Women Workers*. Harper's Weekly, Vol. 53 (April 24): 16.

HAWKES, ARTHUR. *Why I am a Suffragette*. Canadian Magazine (Toronto), Vol. 33 (May): 17-21.

Not good.

HAYLLAR, FLORENCE. *The Superfluity of Women*. Westminster Review, Vol. 179 (February): 171-181.

An argument to prove that it is a good thing for England just now, to have a million "superfluous" women. The point is given more stress than it will bear.

- *** HAYLLAR, FLORENCE. *Woman's Ideal of Womanhood*. Westminster Review, Vol. 179 (March): 309-313.

The last two sections are vague and unprofitable, but the first two are very good, and might well stand by themselves. In the second, the writer points out the important distinction between facts and circumstances which are by nature inevitable and those which are "practically inevitable for people brought up in their midst." "To make and to leave free that which by nature has been made and left free is a chief condition of the usefulness and vigor of individual life." "Nowhere has anything of any moment been accomplished in human history save by people who were free—or in the act of vindicating their freedom." "But if this struggle for freedom dies down once more, over all women will settle the cold inertia of the unfree."

HEMINGWAY, WILLIAM. *Campaigning for Equal Franchise*. Harper's Weekly, Vol. 53 (March 13): 15-16.

HILL, CAROLINE M. *Woman's Battle for the Ballot in Chicago*. Collier's, Vol. 43 (April 3): 26.

"It is the women who have done civic work who have found out that they need votes."

[HOWELLS, WILLIAM DEAN.] *Editor's Easy Chair*.
Harper's Monthly Magazine, Vol. 118 (May): 965-968.

Dull and ineffective.

- ** [HOWELLS, WILLIAM DEAN.] *Editor's Easy Chair*. Harper's Monthly Magazine, Vol. 119 (June): 147-150.

Charming treatment of the argument that women should be in favor of monarchies because monarchies give more honor to women than do republics. The last page is an admirable plea for woman suffrage on the ground that it will strengthen our democracy. "We could point out that the trouble was, with us, not too much democracy, but too little; that women's civic equality with men was perhaps the next step." "No woman will then care socially to outshine her sister; at the most she will be emulous of her in civic virtue, the peculiar grace and glory of republics."

- * [HOWELLS, WILLIAM DEAN.] *Editor's Easy Chair*. Harper's Monthly Magazine, Vol. 119 (August): 473-475.

Amusing speculations about women presidents and the effect they will probably have on the presidential office. A good case is made out for reducing the president's power.

- ** HUSBAND, MARY GILLILAND. *Review of "National and Social Problems" and "Realities and Ideals," by Frederic Harrison*. International Journal of Ethics, Vol. 19 (July): 504-509.

Admirable criticism of Mr. Frederic Harrison's views on the woman question. His idea of woman as a "teacher" and a "spiritual power" is especially well ridiculed. "So women are after all 'teachers' only in the sense in which helpless babes and little, young, tender children have been, by the mute appeal of their helplessness, by their tender needs, their ignorance and 'purity', among the most power-

ful influences in the humanising of humanity. . . . Does it not matter to the community whether the devotion of women be 'according to wisdom,' so only they be devoted?"

- ** HUSBAND, MARY GILLILAND. *Women as Citizens*. International Journal of Ethics, Vol. 19 (July): 466-476.

An excellent article, but the part concerning "women as citizens" is less striking than the admirable defense of the family which takes up the greater part of the essay. The combination, however, of a woman suffrage argument with a defense of the family is likely to win confidence.

- JONES, ELLIS O. *Are Women Human?* Lippincott's Monthly Magazine, Vol. 84 (August): 204.

Good, except for the end, which is not clear.

- *** JONES, GLADYS. *The Rights of the Living*. Westminster Review, Vol. 179 (June): 646-650.

Bitter, but clever. "Sooner or later we shall have to understand that those who hold the keys are living now, and that only through their stronger individual life can the things which are desired be brought to pass. It is more profitable to care for the welfare of one's living sister than to sacrifice her soul to a grandchild who may never appear; it is a safer speculation."

- KETTLER, EMILIE M. *Development and Condition of the Woman Question in Germany*. Chautauquan (Meadville, Pa.), Vol. 54 (March): 77-90.

- KIDDER, M. GRIER. *Woman Suffrage*. Overland Monthly (San Francisco), Vol. 53 (January): 3-8.

- KNIGHT, MARY. *Woman v. the State*. Westminster Review, Vol. 172 (July): 36-41.

A bitter arraignment of the state, on the ground that it does not offer women sufficient inducements for bringing

children into the world. The defiant, almost hostile, attitude of the writer is plainly due in great part to the consciousness that she herself and those in whose behalf she speaks are not properly a part of "the state." The article ends with this paragraph: "This is not a promising outlook. We recommend it to the consideration of the men—the statesmen. The advanced women have no voice in such matters—they have no interest in the politics of the country."

- *** LAFFERTY, ALMA V. (member of the Colorado Legislature and Chairman of Committee on Education). *Being a Woman Legislator*. Delineator, Vol. 74 (September): 204, 250, 251.

LARSEN, HANNA ASTRUP. *Norway's Leader of Women*. A Pen-picture of Gina Krog, who Organised the successful Woman Suffrage Movement in her Country twenty-eight years ago. Harper's Weekly, Vol. 53 (June 12): 10.

MOORE, ELSIE WALLACE. *The Suffrage Question in the Far West*. The Arena (Boston), Vol. 41 (July): 414-424.

PAGET, LUCY GARDNER. *For the Honor of Women*. Westminster Review, Vol. 171 (January): 48-53.

The language is too violent, and no new points are made.

PÄRSINNEN, HILJA. *Women's Work in the Finnish Parliament*. International (London), Vol. 5 (May): 22-26.

The writer says that "among the married social-democratic female deputies three became mothers during the performance of their parliamentary duties without any further unpleasant consequences than a few weeks' absence from the sittings."

- **** PARSONS, ELSIE CLEWS. *How does the Access of Women to Industrial Occupations React on the Family?*—Higher Education of Women and the Family. *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 14 (May): 758-763.

Especially interesting to college women.

PHELAN, RAYMOND V. *Woman and Democracy*. *Westminster Review*, Vol. 179 (May): 500-503.

This would be a good article if the writer did not assert, without proof, that a modern state, in order to be really democratic, must be socialistic—or, as he puts it, socialised.

- *** PIER, FLORIDA (in *The Gentler View*). *The Delightfully Quaint Antis*. *Harper's Weekly*, Vol. 53 (December 11) 34.

Charming, good-tempered ridicule of anti-suffrage arguments.

- **** PIER, FLORIDA (in *The Gentler View*). *Man's New Humility*. *Harper's Weekly*, Vol. 53 (December 18): 27.

This writer's winning style imparts sweetness to arguments that have grown bitter with unheeded repetition. She is a master of light irony.

REED, F. W. HATTON. *Plainer Truths about Woman Suffrage*. *Westminster Review*, Vol. 179 (April): 396-399.

Sufficiently good reply to a pamphlet called *Plain Truths about Woman Suffrage*. But the article is not otherwise valuable, and the pamphlet is probably not well known.

REYNOLDS, MINNIE J. *The Recollections of a Woman Campaigner*. *Delineator*, Vol. 74 (October): 299-350.

SVEND, M. CHATTO. *Women as Rulers*. Westminster Review, Vol. 172 (August): 181-185.

"This paper does not claim to be more than a brief sketch of some women who have been placed in the very highest positions, and enough has been said to show that many of them used their power with great ability, and often with distinct genius."

* SWINEY, FRANCES. *Women's Industries*. Westminster Review, Vol. 179 (April): 383-395.

The writer tries to explain the process by which women's industries lost their status and came to be unpaid and unorganised. The latter half of the article is a protest against injustice to women in the modern industrial world; Colorado and New Zealand are pointed to as proofs of what the suffrage would accomplish. There is a want of progress in the development of the thought, and some of the passages are obscure.

** TARBELL, IDA M. *The American Woman*, Chaps. IV and V. American Magazine, Vol. 69 (January and February).

This is perhaps the most interesting account of the beginnings of the woman's rights movement. There are also very fine pictures of the great anti-slavery women, who were called on "not only to fight what they believed a great wrong, but to fight for the right of fighting the wrong." The good literary form of these articles is in marked contrast to the complete lack of proportion and perspective in the *History of Woman Suffrage* (see p. 90).

** THOMAS, W. I. *The Older and Newer Ideals of Marriage*. American Magazine, Vol. 67 (April): 548-552.

A large part of the article is an argument, from the standpoint of eugenics, for the extensions of women's activities

beyond the home. "The home can certainly not afford to be less intelligent than society at large. Otherwise society will eventually take charge of the child, and very properly. The preservation of the home in fact depends upon woman's possession of an intelligence worthy of her influence and her responsibility, and this she can secure only by being of the outer world as well as of the home."

*** THOMAS, W. I. *Votes for Women*. American Magazine, Vol. 68 (July): 292-301.

Professor Thomas first gives an excellent summary of the case and then explains the nature of the feeling against woman suffrage, dwelling particularly on the slowness with which new ideas permeate a community. "I think the case for suffrage may be regarded as virtually decided. We respond to reason slowly, but we are finally amenable to it."

***** THOMAS, W. I. *Woman and the Occupations*. American Magazine, Vol. 68 (September): 463-470.

The argument of the need of the ballot for working women is ineffective unless it is supported by arguments for the need of woman's economic independence. Professor Thomas gives an admirable exposition of this need in all its bearings—both in relation to industry and in relation to the character of woman. The doctrine of the article is much the same as that of the chapter on *The Adventitious Character of Woman in Sex and Society*, but many new and interesting points are made, and there is no needless repetition.

"It would indeed seem that opposition to woman's participation in the totality of life is a romantic subterfuge, resting not so much on a belief in the disability of woman as on the disposition of man to appropriate conspicuous and pleasurable objects for his sole use and ornamentation. 'A little thing, but all mine own,' was one of the remarks of Achilles

to Agamemnon in their quarrel over the two maidens, and it contains the secret of man's world-old disposition to overlook the *intrinsic* worth of woman."

- ** TURNBULL, H. G. *The Girl and the Vote*. Westminster Review, Vol. 172 (September): 263-266.

A very good, simple statement of the position of "the ordinary girl" with regard to the suffrage. By "the ordinary girl" is meant the average girl of the educated classes—who is not willing to devote her life to the cause, but upon whose sympathy the success of the cause depends. The writer points out the significant fact—which can hardly be doubted—that, even though a plebiscite of *all* the women of England might not declare in favor of the suffrage, a plebiscite of all the *young* women would do so by an overwhelming majority.

- TURNBULL, H. GRAHAM. *Men, Women, and Conventions*. Westminster Review, Vol. 172 (December): 665-668.

Full of fallacies.

- WATTERSON, HENRY. *The Wisdom of Watterson*. Harper's Weekly, Vol. 53 (March 27): 25.

Not good.

- * WELLFORD, CLARENCE. *A College President and the Suffrage*. Harper's Weekly, Vol. 53 (February 13): 32.

An article about President Thomas of Bryn Mawr, showing the connection between the movement for the higher education of women and the suffrage movement.

- *** ZUEBLIN, CHARLES. *The Effect on Women of Economic Dependence*. American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 14 (March): 606-614.

Professor Zueblin begins by quoting Solomon's description of a virtuous woman, making amusing comments and

comparisons after each verse. "‘She perceiveth that her merchandise is good, her candle goeth not out by night.’ Obviously because of her addiction to heavy work, not light literature," etc. He then makes a brilliant exposition of the evils resulting from woman's economic dependence. "Woman's chief moral defect is her method of circumlocution, forced upon her by her being compelled to make sex functions economic functions (as Mrs. Gilman has so forcibly stated). Whether it is during the courting illusion or in rifling her husband's pockets (which a sober American judge justifies) or in accomplishing benefits for him in subtle ways beyond his dull masculine comprehension, she is all the time perfecting the arts of hypocrisy. It is sufficiently serious that woman's character should bear this blemish, without a premium being put upon it by having it regarded as her chief charm. This method of indirection is becoming increasingly obnoxious as the larger social opportunities to-day demand for their satisfactory performance political activity. Women . . . are now expected to perform many social obligations in spite of the constant difficulty of social reconstruction without political expression." "It is manifest that if women were economically independent, political independence could not be delayed." Professor Zueblin thinks, however, that the best plan would be, not that women in general should enter into "the actual economic struggle," but that "upon marriage, and subsequently on the birth of each child, the father be required to take out an insurance policy providing annuities for wife and children."

C. N. H. *The Problem of the Intellectual Woman: A Letter from an American Woman to the American Negro* (in Care of W. E. du Bois). American Magazine, Vol. 67 (January): 288-290.

A comparison of the status of woman with that of the negro. The writer concludes: "We therefore join hands

with you in asking that the ballot be put on another basis than color and sex." Interesting in parts, but without much point.

The Active Suffrage Movement. Review of Reviews, Vol. 40 (December): 653-654.

England's Suffragette Martyr. Harper's Weekly, Vol. 53 (June 5): 28.

A fine reproduction of a portrait of Mrs. Pankhurst by Miss Ethel Wright. As is explained in the appended comment, the painting was rejected by the Royal Academy, although "for years no other painting by Miss Wright has been barred from exhibition."

Experiences of Woman's Suffrage. Editorial. Independent, Vol. 66 (May 20): 1091-1092.

Good.

The Feminist Movement in China. Review of Reviews, Vol. 39 (January): 101-102.

Mr. Asquith and Votes for Women. Editorial. Harper's Weekly, Vol. 53 (December 25): 5.

* *Poets and the Suffrage.* Editorial. Harper's Weekly, Vol. 53 (February 6): 6.

The Pope on Equal Suffrage. Editorial. Harper's Weekly, Vol. 53 (May 1): 5.

The Rights of Chicago Women. Editorial. Independent, Vol. 66 (February 4): 274.

A Suffrage Song. Editorial. Independent, Vol. 66 (February 11): 333-334.

Suffragists and Suffragettes. Editorial. *Independent*, Vol. 67 (November 4): 1049.

- ** *What Woman Suffrage Does.* *World's Work*, Vol. 17 (April): 11419-11420.

Report of Judge Lindsey's temperate, but distinctly favorable opinion about the working of woman suffrage in Colorado.

What Women Want. Editorial. *Harper's Weekly*, Vol. 53 (June 5): 6.

Somewhat sentimental. "Their [women's] happiness lies always in something to take care of." The writer says that the desire for this sort of happiness is the motive that has led women to demand the ballot.

- * *Woman Suffrage: An Experience Meeting.* *Independent*, Vol. 66 (May 20): 1056-1070.

Letters to the *Independent* for and against woman suffrage. The first two are very good.

Woman Suffrage in the United States. Review of Reviews, Vol. 39 (May): 626-627.

Summary of the article by Mrs. Ida Husted Harper in the *North American Review* for April, 1909.

Woman Suffrage Progress. Review of Reviews, Vol. 39 (March): 288.

- * Editorial Paragraph. *The Nation* (New York), Vol. 88 (March 4): 210.

"People talk of it as revolutionary, but the main revolution—that in the economic status of women—has already come."

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- *** ADDAMS, JANE. *Why Women Should Vote*. Ladies' Home Journal, Vol. 27 (January): 21. [Condensed in Review of Reviews, February, 1910, p. 217.]

"As society grows more complicated, it is necessary that woman shall extend her sense of responsibility to many things outside of her own home if she would continue to preserve the home in its entirety."

- BELMONT, ALVA E. *How Can Women Get the Suffrage?* Independent, Vol. 68 (March 31): 686-689.

- BELMONT, ALVA E. *Woman and the Suffrage*. Harper's Bazar, Vol. 44 (April): 170.

It would be hard for the most earnest suffragist to read this article without amusement. This is a typical passage: "The woman of the hour should be an imposing theme, quickening interest, promising much! But I, the builder of it, realize that my foundations are laid in sand and the invading tide is nearing their obliteration."

- BELMONT, ALVA E. *Woman Suffrage as it Looks Today*. The Forum, Vol. 43 (March): 264-268.

- BENNETT, LOUIE. *Ibsen as a Pioneer of the Woman Movement*. Westminster Review, Vol. 173 (March): 278-285.

Very inadequate. For a good treatment of the subject, see Bernard Shaw's *The Womanly Woman in The Quintessence of Ibsenism*.

- * BILLINGTON-GREIG, TERESA. *The Government and Women's Suffrage*. Fortnightly Review, Vol. 94 (November): 89-902.

An exposition of the unfair treatment accorded to the Conciliation Bill.

- * BLACK, WINIFRED. *The Case of Mrs. John Smith of London: A Simple Story of the Suffrage Question in England.* Cosmopolitan, Vol. 49 (August): 381-390.

Good vivid account of the grievances of English women.

- * BOWNE, BORDEN PARKER. *Woman and Democracy.* North American Review, Vol. 191 (April): 527-536.

For an admirable article on this subject, see *Women and Democracy*, by F. Melian Stawell (1907).

- ** CAIRD, MONA. *The Lot of Women.* Westminster Review, Vol. 174 (July): 52-59.

An able article, full of bitter indignation. Speaking of the opposition of women to the suffrage movement, the writer says: "Moreover, every woman under the conditions of our social order is willy nilly the business rival of every other woman. The majority do not look at it that way perhaps (though many, perforce, do so), but no amount of finer sentiment alters, though it gracefully disguises, the brutal fact. This fact has tended to destroy or prevent the development of all *esprit de corps* among women, and to create that strange, base instinct to detract from and belittle other women which is one of the ugliest of the many ugly results of centuries of subjection to one sex and consequent rivalry with the other."

- CARUS, PAUL. *Woman Suffrage and Ballot Reform.* Open Court, Vol. 24 (April): 244-246.

Advocates woman suffrage, but advocates also the giving of an extra ballot to married men, educated persons and taxpayers. No reason is given for the preference of married men to married women.

- * CATT, CARRIE CHAPMAN. *The Will of the People.* The Forum, Vol. 43 (June): 595.

In the first part of the article the argument on the ground of abstract justice is more than usually well put. "The

movement is a part of the world's evolution of democracy. Its reason for existence is the same as that of each preceding struggle for man suffrage. Its appeal presents no new arguments; it merely repeats the old."

CHAMBERS, JULIA. *Woman: The Line of Progress*. Forum, Vol. 44 (December): 724-732.

Worthless.

CHAPMAN, A. B. WALLIS. *The Right to Vote*. Westminster Review, Vol. 174 (December): 629-636.

A proposal that the qualification for suffrage, for men and women alike, should be the passing of an easy examination in the elements of the constitution.

**** CHILDS, W. M. *Woman Suffrage: A Review and a Conclusion*. Hibbert Journal, Vol. 8 (July): 721-728.

The tone of this admirably written article is one of resigned acceptance rather than enthusiasm. The writer feels certain of the objections to woman suffrage to be valid, and states them with much more than usual force and sanity. In his opinion the real strength of the movement is derived from the "attainment of political consciousness by the women of the nation." "We cannot doubt . . . that their secular, submissive, and for the most part instinctive acquiescence in their political disabilities is gone, and gone forever." "The fatal weakness in the argument against woman suffrage is that it offers no diagnosis and no cure." "It is not denied that the association of women with men in political responsibility . . . must bring with it certain risks. But these risks, when investigated, commonly turn out to be so speculative that sound policy would advise us to take them, rather than keep a large section of the community in a state of perpetual irritation."

"When it is objected that sentiment flinches from this last step—that this last step differs from all its predecessors, there is an effective reply. In the first place, no attribute of human nature is so well able to take care of itself as sentiment. There was a time when monarchical sentiment in this country seemed wholly bound up with the sentiment of divine right. Divine right, as a working theory of monarchy, failed to survive, but sentiment still buttresses the English throne. Not a shred of the noble idealism which irradiates the literature of passion, and the memories of gallant men and gentle women, will be sacrificed because women have become reliant comrades."

COOKE, GEORGE WILLIS. *Social Idealism and Suffrage for Woman*. Chautauquan (Meadville, Pa.), Vol. 58 (April): 166-183.

Dull.

DAGGETT, MABEL POTTER. *Suffrage Enters the Drawing Room: Society has Saluted the Four-Starred Flag and the "Cause" Enrolls Thousands*. Delineator, Vol. 75 (January): 37-38, and 70.

DUNBAR, OLIVIA HOWARD. *Mrs Mackay at Work*. Harper's Bazar, Vol. 44 (April): 240-241.

ENGLAND, GEORGE ALLAN. *The Leaven of Woman Suffrage 'round the World*. Lippincott's Monthly Magazine. Vol. 85 (January): 123-125.

*** ETZ, ANNA CADOGAN. *A False Sex Emphasis*. North American Review, Vol. 191 (February): 251-258.

A good argument to show that we really have nothing on which to base a theory of the "natural" difference in mind

and character between men and women. "Sex distinctions have been vastly over-emphasised; the physical differentiation necessary for the propagation of the species is strictly limited in its field, and leaves untouched the larger area of human qualities which has been developed in consequence of man being a social animal." Suffragists now-a-days are too apt to regard the vices of women as accidents resulting from their subjection, but their virtues as inherent characteristics. The great merit of this article is that it rejects that unfair argument. The chief points made here have been better made by Mill, but they need special emphasis just now. Unfortunately the article is not very well written.

GILMAN, CHARLOTTE PERKINS. *The Humanness of Woman*. The Forerunner (New York), Vol. 1 (January): 12-14.

This article deals directly with the question of suffrage, but it is much less good than most things in *The Forerunner* (q. v. under *Current Suffrage Periodicals*). Too much is made of the natural "individualism," the combative character, of the male. The structure is very loose.

GROTH, CATHERINE D. *Man—the Timid Sex*. Harper's Weekly, Vol. 54 (March 19): 17.

HARPER, IDA HUSTED. *The English Woman Suffrage Bill*. Independent, Vol. 69 (August 25): 410-412.

HARPER, IDA HUSTED. *Evolution of the Woman Suffrage Movement*. World To-day, Vol. 19 (September): 1017-1021.

HARPER, IDA HUSTED. *For Woman Suffrage*. Harper's Bazar, Vol. 44 (January): 56.

HARPER, IDA HUSTED. *Getting the Vote for Women: A Record of One Day's Work at the National American Association Headquarters.* Harper's Bazar, Vol. 44 (February): 90-91.

HARPER, IDA HUSTED. *The Plea for Woman Suffrage.* Harper's Bazar, Vol. 44 (April): 248.

Report of recent progress, especially in Maryland and Virginia.

- * HARPER, IDA HUSTED. *The President and the Suffragists.* Independent, Vol. 68 (April 28): 902-904.

Criticism of President Taft's speech before the National American Woman Suffrage Convention.

HARPER, IDA HUSTED. *Woman Suffrage in Great Britain.* Independent, Vol. 68 (June 30): 1442-1445.

HARPER, IDA HUSTED. *The Woman Suffrage Movement.* Harper's Bazar, Vol. 44 (March): 178.

Review of progress made in 1909.

HARRIS, MRS. L. H. *The Crab Apple Adam.* Independent, Vol. 69 (November 3): 967-971.

- ** HARVEY, GEORGE. *The Inherent Right.* North American Review, Vol. 191 (May): 701-720.

A satirical account of the various objections to woman suffrage. The section called *A Lesson in Contradictions* is especially good.

"Women would forsake their children to vote.

"They would not vote at all.

"Their political antagonism to their husbands would destroy the family.

"They would vote as their husbands vote," etc.

- * HENDERSON, ARCHIBALD. *Votes for Women in England*. Forum, Vol. 44 (November): 569-583.

A good statement of the case for the suffragettes, and a history of the Conciliation Bill.

- ** HOUGHTON, BERNARD. *From Chattel to Suffragette*. Westminster Review, Vol. 173 (April): 400-412.

An interesting review of the evolution of the status of woman. The writer regards militarism and sacerdotalism as the two great barriers, in the past, to woman's progress. "Whilst militarism has thrust back upward pressing womanhood with hands of iron, sacerdotalism has restrained it with silken, but very tenacious cords." He concludes that "the prospects of the present movement for woman's suffrage are eminently favorable. In spite of frantic beatings of the militarist drum, and of impassioned calls to prepare for the slaughter of one's fellow beings, the lust for warfare ebbs steadily under the influence of industrialism and culture. Education is little by little preparing a terrain as wholly unsuitable for sacerdotalism as an upland field for the propagation of the bogberry. Thus slowly droop and deteriorate the two greatest rods ever made for the struggling back of woman."

- [HOWELLS, WILLIAM DEAN.] *Editor's Easy Chair*. Harper's Magazine, Vol. 121 (October): 795-798.

- JOHNSTON, MARY. *The Woman's War*. Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 105 (April): 559-570.

Any good points that may lurk in this article are rendered ineffective by a florid and hysterical style.

- * KORFF, BARONESS ALLETTA. *Where Women Vote*. National Geographic Magazine, Vol. 21 (June): 487-494.

Shows how quietly and naturally woman suffrage was brought about in Finland, and gives a brief but satis-

factory account of what Finnish women have accomplished since they have had full political rights.

LE GALLIENNE, RICHARD. *A Ballad of Woman. Respectfully, Admiringly and Gratefully Dedicated to Mrs. Pankhurst.* Harper's Weekly, Vol. 54 (January): 29: 15.

Better than most suffrage poems, but sentimental and, on the whole, ineffective.

LUSK, HUGH H. *The Woman's Vote: Some Side-Lights from New Zealand's Experience.* North American Review, Vol. 192 (July): 107-116.

The writer testifies to the good working of woman suffrage in New Zealand, though he thinks it unsafe for other countries to regard this experiment as conclusive.

MATTHEWS, HUBERT B. *The Enfranchisement of Women: An Open Letter to Mr. Lloyd George.* Westminster Review, Vol. 174 (October): 383-385.

The writer makes it plain that the Liberal party would have gained by the passage of the Conciliation Bill. The House of Lords would have rejected the bill, the conservative women in the suffrage ranks would then have turned against the House of Lords, and the demand for the abolition of the lords' veto would have been greatly strengthened.

MAUD, CONSTANCE ELIZABETH. *Mrs. Julia Ward Howe (A Veteran Suffragist).* Fortnightly Review, Vol. 93 (February): 268-273.

Not well written, and not as interesting as one would expect to find an essay on Mrs. Howe.

- * MEREDITH, ELLIS. *The Failures of Woman Suffrage*. Twentieth Century Magazine, Vol. 3 (November): 134-140.

MONTEFIORE, DORA B. *The Woman Movement in England and in America*. Independent, Vol. 69 (July 7): 31-34.

- * MURRAY, GILBERT. *The Weaker Sex*. Educational Review, Vol. 40 (December): 512-516.

"If woman is by nature weaker than man, we must see that her work in the labor market is not harder. If we want women to be wives and mothers, we must penalize them less heavily for becoming so."

- * NATHAN, MAUD (Mrs. Frederick Nathan). *Woman Suffrage as an Aid to Social Reform*. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 35 (Supplement, May): 33-35.

Gives a striking instance of the ineffectiveness of women's "indirect influence" with the New York legislature.

OWEN, ROBERT L. *The Significance of the Woman Suffrage Movement: Introductory Remarks*. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 35 (Supplement, May): 6-9.

PAUL, ALICE. *The Woman Suffrage Movement in Great Britain*. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 35 (Supplement, May): 23-27.

A discussion of the present status of woman in England.

PHELAN, DR. RAYMOND VINCENT. *Division of Labor and the Ballot*. Westminster Review, Vol. 174 (October): 386-391.

An exposition of the home-making woman's need of the ballot.

*** PIER, FLORIDA (in *The Gentler View*). *The Solemn Responsibility of Influencing Father's Vote*. Harper's Weekly, Vol. 54 (February 5): 27.

Delicious *reductio ad absurdum* of a favorite anti-suffrage argument. "His condition would be so delicate, maintaining a nice balance between the ideas of his sister-in-law and those of his niece, that it would require the most careful watching to keep his mind made up until his vote was actually cast. It would mean that no woman could remain at home. . . . Where her brother went she must go, and it might be that her brother would have to go veiled, for what if he should see a pleasing female of the opposite political party, and say from the depths of his capricious heart, 'I'd like that lady to influence me.' "

** PIER, FLORIDA. *The Masculine and the Feminine Mind*. Harper's Weekly, Vol. 54 (September 24): 21.

"There is not a jot of difference between the masculine and feminine minds: there is only a difference in what is and what has been put in them, and what the world expects to come out of them. The world gets very much what it expects."

ROBINS, ELIZABETH. *Shall Women Work?* Fortnightly Review, Vol. 93 (May): 899-911.

An argument for the economic independence of women, and for woman suffrage as a means of improving the conditions of women's work.

SINGH, SAINT NIHAL. *The Submerged Half in India*.
Nineteenth Century and After, Vol. 67 (May): 817-833.

A very interesting account of present social conditions in India, where a large proportion of the men of the upper classes have thoroughly absorbed European culture and ideas, while the women have remained practically untouched by any outside stimulus. The writer ends with auguries for a change in the near future, especially for the abolition of early marriages and enforced widowhood.

SLOSSON, EDWIN E. *An Army with Banners*. Independent, Vol. 69 (July 14): 62-66.

A description of the London suffrage parade.

* SNOWDEN, MRS. PHILIP. *The Woman Suffrage Movement in Great Britain*. Chautauquan (Meadville, Pa.), Vol. 58 (March): 97-108.

* SPENCER, ANNA GARLAND. *The Logical Basis for Woman Suffrage*. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 35 (Supplement, May): 10-15.

The chief point made is that since the state has taken over the great functions of social service which used to belong to women—the teaching of children, the care of the sick, etc.—women must maintain their share in these functions through political means.

STOBART, M. A. *The Eternal Womanly*. Fortnightly Review, Vol. 73, new ser. (July, 1910): 92-108.

The writer contrasts the “feminine” and the “womanly” ideals. There are some good points made, the best of them being based on Veblen’s *Theory of the Leisure Class*. The writer shows an amusing lack of perception when she re-

marks, after quoting one of Veblen's dry ironical passages: "Professor Veblen is apparently well satisfied with this arrangement."

SUTHERLAND, ROSAMOND LEE. *The Appeal of Politics to Women*. North American Review, Vol. 191 (January): 75-86.

Crude and uninteresting.

VERE, ADRIEL. *A Year's Work of the National Women's Social and Political Union*. Westminster Review, Vol. 173 (May): 511-515.

A thoroughgoing suffragette article. The account of the treatment of the prisoners—the enforced feeding, etc.—is interesting, but the comparison of the suffragettes with the Christian martyrs is exaggerated, to say the least.

WARD, C. OLIVIA ORDE. *The Position of Women in Arthurian Romance*. Westminster Review, Vol. 174 (October): 416-423.

WARD, F. W. ORDE. *Woman as a Factor in the Labor World*. Westminster Review, Vol. 173 (February): 167-174.

High-flown language about woman's "ethical twist" and the "Christianisation of commerce" that will take place when she enters into the industrial and political world on the same footing with man.

- * WINSOR, MARY. *The Practical Workings of Woman Suffrage in Colorado Municipalities*. Proceedings of the Buffalo Conference for Good City Government and the Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the National Municipal League: 317-327.

A report prepared for the National Municipal League by the Pennsylvania Limited Franchise League. The

report is based on letters from responsible authorities in Colorado, in reply to a detailed list of questions sent them by the Franchise League. The replies are on the whole very favorable. Special stress is laid on the part women have played in municipal house-cleaning. It is shown that they were chiefly instrumental in the re-election of Judge Lindsey in Denver, in the defeat of a rapacious water franchise in Denver, and in the securing of commission government in Grand Junction.

** ZUEBLIN, CHARLES. *The Day of Woman*. Delineator, Vol. 75 (May): 411 and 454.

"When it becomes recognised that constitutions, charters and laws must be fitted to the public work to be done rather than the work conformed to existing statutes, the chief objection to the public activity of woman will be removed." Professor Zueblin gives striking instances to show that women no longer have to *choose between a career* (or a trade) and motherhood.

"*An American Woman*." For the Woman of Brains. Collier's, Vol. 44 (March 5): 45 and 46.

A good complaint against the magazines. The writer says that whenever an editor wishes to interest women he prints a page full of frivolities, and that very little space is given to the larger questions that are of special interest to women.

Editor's Study. Harper's Monthly Magazine, Vol. 120 (January): 313-316.

Commonplace and ineffective.

Editor's Study. Harper's Monthly Magazine, Vol. 120 (March): 637-640.

Mystical, obscure, and absurd. The article ends with this paragraph; "The modern feminisation of culture not

less through the woman in man than through the woman alongside of him, inevitably follows the acceptance by Christendom—after centuries of perverse contradiction—of the essential principle of the Gospel, which, in the creation of a new humanity, lays stress upon the plastic side of our nature rather than upon that course of structural achievement which illustrates individual and collective pride and ambition.”

The Latest Bogey. Scribner's Magazine, Vol. 48 (July): 121-123.

An insubstantial essay written to reassure the conservative that “the instinct for motherhood is the primal, indestructible fact of woman's life, and professional work, university life, even—even the ballot are not going to change it any more than the present style in sleeves is going to change it.”

- * *Woman's Suffrage in the Light of Reason and Experience.* Twentieth Century Magazine, Vol. 3 (October): 69-71.

Good reply to the talk of Dr. Leonard Williams about the “complicated cyclical process” which, he says, uses up nearly all the vigor of women and leaves them none for voting.

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- *** BILLINGTON-GREIG, TERESA. *Feminism and Politics.* Contemporary Review, Vol. 100 (November): 693-703.

A powerful remonstrance against the narrowing of the whole feminist movement to the mere demand for the vote. Feminism is defined as “a movement seeking the reorganisation of the world on the basis of sex-equality in all human relations; a movement which would reject

every differentiation between individuals upon the ground of sex . . . and would strive to set up the recognition of the common humanity of woman and man as the foundation of law and custom." The writer admits that the cutting down of feminism to suffragism has reduced the opposition to woman suffrage, but this, she thinks, has been accompanied by a loss of inspiration, so that even the suffrage movement itself has been on the whole retarded by the policy of limitation. "With feminists as with others, a full statement of desires and intentions means both gains and losses." And in any case, "more would have been accomplished along the way if feminism had been clearly proclaimed," and "after enfranchisement had been won, they would have been prepared for the speediest progress."

BJÖRKMAN, EDWIN. *The Meaning of the New Woman: Her Sincere Attempt to Find Herself in Present-Day Conditions.* Collier's, Vol. 44 (January 29): 12.

** CHAPMAN, A. B. WALLIS. *The Greatest Political Question of the Day.* Westminster Review, Vol. 175 (March): 254-256.

"The admission of women to the franchise is the formal recognition of their complete humanity; which formal recognition, reacting on beliefs and ideals, will tend to make the association of men and women one of equal comradeship."

* COCKERELL, T. D. A. *The Future of Woman.* Dial, Vol. 50 (June 16): 470-472.

Good reviews of Olive Schreiner's *Woman and Labor* and Mrs. Gilman's *The Man-Made World*.

COCKERELL, T. D. A. *Votes for Women*. Dial, Vol. 51 (July 16): 45-48.

Reviews of recent books on woman suffrage.

* COLBY, FRANK MOORE. *The Casual Reader*. Bookman, Vol. 33 (June): 362-365.

An amusing essay about "clever writers and their certainties"—especially their certainties about "Woman in General." "Though privately possessed, henpecked, perhaps, by the lawless exceptions, their minds elope in public with some general rule. It seems a singular divergence—this public message that 'all history teaches,' and private swearing that God only knows."

COOPER, COURTNEY R. *Enter the Mayoress: Mrs. Ella Wilson, Chief Executive of Hunnewell, Kansas, and the Job She Has on Hand*. Collier's, Vol. 47 (July 29): 20.

*** CREEL, GEORGE, and LINDSEY, JUDGE BEN B. *Measuring Up Equal Suffrage: An Authoritative Estimate of Results in Colorado*. Delineator, Vol. 77 (February): 85-86 and 151-152.

An enthusiastic account of how woman suffrage works in Colorado. The long list of the humane laws that have been passed since 1893 (the year in which women obtained the franchise) is particularly impressive.

DAWBARN, CHARLES. *The French Woman and the Vote*. Fortnightly Review, Vol. 96 (new series 90), (August): 328-335.

An account of the methods and the hopes of the French feminists.

- **** DORR, RHETA CHILDE. *Breaking Into the Human Race*. Hampton's Magazine, Vol. 27 (September): 317-329. (Republished as a pamphlet by the National American Woman Suffrage Association.)

The main ideas are not new, but there is much force and pungency in the treatment. Starting with the case of Mme. Curie's exclusion from the French Academy of Sciences on the ground of sex, the writer arraigns the whole system of thought which regards men alone as human and women as "the sex." "Men are expected to differ from one another. It might almost be said that men are respected in proportion to their degree of individuality. Women, being a sex, are expected to conform to a type, and they are admired and respected in proportion to their ability to conform." There follows a strong characterisation of the conventional feminine type. "In the matter of virtue, men have been oddly generous to women. They have allowed them a moral handicap, so to speak. . . . Without losing any special caste women may trifle with the truth, they may break a promise, they may betray a confidence, they may neglect to pay their bills." The writer goes on to give an excellent description of the way in which women are kept true to type. The whole modern movement she regards as an attack on this system, a "mighty effort of women to break into the human race."

- *** DORR, RHETA CHILDE. *The Women Did It in Colorado: How the Colorado Women Learned to Vote and the Reforms they have Worked with their Ballots.* Hampton's Magazine, Vol. 26 (April): 426-438.

Gives a detailed account of the political activity of Colorado women in recent campaigns, showing the important part played by the State Federation of Women's Clubs.

***** EASTMAN, MAX. *Is Woman Suffrage Important?*
North American Review, Vol. 193 (January): 60-71.
(Reprinted as a pamphlet by the Men's League for
Woman Suffrage; see pp. 135.)

"It is not justice as a theoretical ideal, nor feminine virtue as a cure for politics, but democratic government as the practical method of human happiness, that compels our minds." "The democratic hypothesis is that a state is good, not when it conforms to some general eternal ideal of what a state ought to be or do, as the Greeks thought, but when it conforms to the interests of particular concrete individuals—namely, its citizens, all that are in mental and moral health; and that the way to find out their interests is not to sit on a throne or a bench and think about it, but go and ask them. Now to discriminate against an approximate half of the citizens—just because they have, as we say, such *different interests* from the rest—is to betray our hypothesis and destroy our experiment at its crucial point. For the whole point of it was that we would give up asking an expert political class of the people what the state *ought* to do, and go down and ask all the people, expert or not and political or not, what they are *interested* in having it do." The writer goes on to show how changed industrial conditions make it imperative that the democratic theory be applied to women. It is absurd to say that the women in trade unions are sufficiently represented by men.

GLASER, DR. OTTO CHARLES. *The Constitutional Conservatism of Women*. Popular Science Monthly, Vol. 79 (September): 299-302.

After trying to establish by biological argument the theory of the greater variability of the male sex, the writer concludes: "Racial justice in the long run will require suffrage for women, because they are consti-

tutionally fitted for the exercise of the conservative influences of which, as a body politic, we stand so much in need. That the enlightened woman will wield her power without blocking progress, and, within human limits, for the conservation of things worth while, follows both from her organization and her training." But are all women "enlightened?" And just what is meant by "within human limits?" This sentence is a good example of loose thinking on the woman question.

HARPER, IDA HUSTED. *Asquith's Betrayal of the Suffragists: His Broken Pledge Causes the Revival of Militancy in England.* Collier's, Vol. 48 (December 23): 19 and 23.

HARPER, IDA HUSTED. *Votes for Women.* Harper's Bazar, Vol. 45, January: 38; February: 101; July: 346; December: 578.

A record of progress.

HARPER, IDA HUSTED. *Woman Suffrage in Six States.* Independent, Vol. 71 (November 2): 967-970.

An account of how woman suffrage was won in each of the six suffrage states.

HARPER, IDA HUSTED. *The World Movement for Woman Suffrage.* American Review of Reviews, Vol. 44 (December): 725-729.

Describes the suffrage situation in each of the leading nations.

JONES, GLADYS. *The Women's Quest.* Westminster Review, Vol. 175 (May): 527-537.

Disconnected observations on various aspects of the suffrage movement. Some things are well said, but the article is ineffective through its complete lack of unity.

KNOBE, BERTHA DAMARIS. *The Co-Citizens of California: The Spectacular Campaign by Which Four Hundred Thousand Women Won the Vote.* Collier's, Vol. 48 (October 28): 20 and 31.

KNOBE, BERTHA DAMARIS. *Recent Strides of Woman Suffrage.* World's Work, Vol. 22 (August): 14733-14745.

KNOBE, BERTHA DAMARIS. *Spectacular Woman Suffrage in America.* Independent, Vol. 71 (October 12): 804-810.

A description of the activities of the American suffrage insurgents who "occupy the strategic point between the old-time academic American suffragist and the modern militant English suffragette." The New York suffrage parade is inaccurately called "that splendid pageant of 3,000 picked representatives of the professions and philanthropy."

LOSE, REBECCA J. *A Platform for Women.* Forum (January): 91-93.

A summary of the case for woman suffrage.

** LOW, SIDNEY. *Mrs. Rawdon Crawley.* Fortnightly Review, Vol. 95 (new series 89), (June): 1021-1033.

A charming and suggestive essay on Becky Sharp as "the first embodiment in English fiction of the woman whose emotions are dominated by her intellect." "In the year 1847 a woman was not—for literary purposes at any rate—a substantive individual; she was still only a parasitic being existing in relation to one or more men. It was the tragedy of her life that no other avenue was open to Becky for the employment of her talent, her

energy, her ability; it has been the tragedy of the lives of countless clever women, who cannot be content to be merely sympathetic and submissive, the tragedy of aspirations perverted because unrealised, in a social environment that gave no sufficient scope for a busy brain and penetrating intelligence when these were found in a woman."

MULLINS, G. W. *Woman Suffrage: A New Synthesis*. Hibbert Journal, Vol. 9 (January): 275-295.

An attempt at a "higher synthesis" of suffrage and anti-suffrage thought. The golden mean advocated is the formation of a second chamber based on a "wisdom franchise," this franchise to be attainable by women on the same terms as by men. The article is full of metaphysical verbiage.

** OVERTON, GWENDOLEN. *Woman Suffrage*. North American Review, Vol. 194 (August): 271-281.

Good presentation of the basic reasons for woman suffrage.

RE-BARTLETT, LUCY. *Principal Childs on Woman Suffrage*. Hibbert Journal, Vol. 9 (January): 424.

Poor reply to a writer who objected to woman suffrage because it would give the vote to spinsters and spinsters are man-haters.

* RUNYON, ALFRED DAMON. *The Big Mitten*. Hampton's Magazine, Vol. 26 (June): 738-747.

A good story of ward politics in a suffrage state.

SELBORNE, LORD. *The Case for Woman's Suffrage*. National Review, Vol. 57 (April): 251-257.

- * SINGH, SAINT NIHAL. *Woman Suffrage in Norway*. Twentieth Century Magazine, Vol. 3 (January): 330-333.

- * SMITH, BERTHA H. *The Policewoman*. Good House-keeping, Vol. 52 (March): 206-208.

An account of the work of Alice Stebbins Wells, who has a commission as a regular police officer in Los Angeles.

- ** SPENCER, ANNA GARLAND. *The Primitive Working-Woman*. Forum, Vol. 46 (November): 546-558.

A good survey of the position of woman in the primitive industrial world.

SWINEY, FRANCES. *The Ancient Faith of the Celt and the Briton*. Westminster Review, Vol. 175 (February): 178-196.

An effusion about "the Divinity of the Cosmic Motherhood."

- * TODD, HELEN M. *Getting Out the Vote: An Account of a Week's Automobile Campaign by Women Suffragists*. American Magazine, Vol. 72 (September): 611-619.

A vivid account of speech-making in the parks, streets, and public squares in Illinois.

TWEEDIE, E. ALEC. *Women and Work*. Fortnightly Review, Vol. 95 (new series 89), (June): 1099-1111.

A survey of women's attainments in professional and public life, and a plea for the suffrage on the ground that "women will never find their true scope or their wrongs redressed until they can command a voice in the country's affairs." The article is lacking in originality and in persuasiveness.

WARD, EDWARD J. *Women Should Mind Their Own Business.* Independent, Vol. 70 (June 22): 1370-1371.

The writer maintains that ever since government ceased to be chiefly a matter of councils of war, women even more than men ought to take part in it, since it is by women that the industries of the world have been built up.

WHYTE, W. FARMER, and MACCONNELL, SARAH WARDER. *Where the Women Made Good: In Australia and New Zealand Equal Suffrage Means Equal Responsibility for Public Service.* Delineator, Vol. 77 (April): 270 and 352.

* YEATS, J. B. *Brutus' Wife: An Irishman's Views of the Woman Suffrage Question.* Harper's Weekly, Vol. 55 (January 14): 14-15.

* *Charlotte Perkins Gilman's Dynamic Social Philosophy.* Current Literature, Vol. 51 (July): 67-70.

Chiefly extracts from Mrs. Gilman's criticism of "our androcentric culture."

Crumbs for Women. Independent, Vol. 71 (November 16): 1104-1105.

An account of the fragmentary voting privileges accorded to women in some of our states.

Frenchwomen on the Woman Question. Harper's Weekly, Vol. 55 (April 1): 6.

Reflections on recent novels by French feminists. Marcelle Tinayre's *Hellé* is justly praised as one of the few French novels which upholds the human dignity of woman.

The Future of Woman as Olive Schreiner Sees It. Current Literature, Vol. 50 (May): 515-517.

Good abstract of Olive Schreiner's *Woman and Labor*.

A Glimpse of the Feminist Movement in France. American Review of Reviews, Vol. 44 (September): 354-356.

Extracts from an article in the Paris *Rappel*. It is interesting to see how Mme. Renaud accounts for the slow progress of feminism in France. The three chief obstacles, she says, are the Catholic Church, the spirit of the Roman Empire (evident particularly in the Napoleonic code), and "the spirit of laughter and mockery when men speak of women," which "prevents them from seriously examining a very grave question."

** *Answers to Kipling.* Current Literature, Vol. 51 (December): 599.

Quotes a good parody of Kipling's *The Female of the Species*, by Sidney Low, in the London *Standard*. The "Mother-Fiend" woman of Shaw and Kipling is no more true to life than the "Plaster Image" woman of old-fashioned writers,—

"And Man knows it, Mr. Poet . . .
Knows that Woman is not fiend nor saint nor mixture
of the two,
But an average human being—'most remarkable like
you.'"

In Propria Persona. Harper's Weekly, Vol. 55 (June 3): 6.

The Political Suffrage. Independent, Vol. 71 (December 28): 1467-1468.

Some Objections to Woman Suffrage. Harper's Weekly, Vol. 55 (December 2): 6.

The Ultra-Modern Teachings of Mary Wollstonecraft. Current Literature, Vol. 50 (June): 633-635.

** *Woman and Intellect.* Nation, Vol. 92 (February 2): 107-108.

The writer takes Mme. Curie's failure to be elected to the French Academy of Sciences as an illustration of the tremendous handicap under which women compete with men for intellectual distinction. "It is impossible to judge of the potentialities of women as compared with men by what has actually been recorded of achieved results, so long as those incentives which are the greatest spur to human effort are present in the case of men and absent in the case of women."

* *Woman Suffrage in England.* American Review of Reviews, Vol. 43 (February): 226-227.

Extracts from articles by Mrs. Fawcett, Mrs. Pankhurst and Miss Clementina Black, on the anti-Liberal election policy of the Women's Social and Political Union. Mrs. Fawcett, writing in the *London Review of Reviews*, says that "the practical solution of the Women's Suffrage question must still be sought on non-party lines;" that "no suffrage measure which effectually alienated support from one or another of the two chief parties would have a chance of getting through the House of Commons." Mrs. Pankhurst, in an interview in the same review, says: "We took precisely the same position that Mr. Parnell took in the 1885 election, when he instructed his supporters in England to vote against Mr. Gladstone's followers because of the action of Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet toward the Home Rule agitation during the years they had been in office, and because he refused to give a satisfactory pledge for the future."

Woman's Victory in Washington: The Suffrage Was Won by Quiet, Persistent Work and Business Methods. Collier's, Vol. 46 (January 7): 25 and 28.

1912.

- ** ADDAMS, JANE. *Votes for Women and Other Votes.* Survey, Vol. 28 (June 1): 367-368.

"Because of the tendency to nationalize all industrial and commercial questions, to make the state responsible for the care of the helpless, to safeguard by law the food we eat and the liquid we drink, to subordinate the claim of the individual family to the health and well being of the community, contemporary women who are without the franchise are much more outside the real life of the world than any set of disfranchised men could possibly have been in all history, unless it were the men slaves of ancient Greece, because never before has so large an area of life found civic expression."

- * BLACKWELL, FRANCIS A. *An Electorate of Men and Women.* North American Review, Vol. 195 (June): 803-817.

The writer seems to be in favor of woman suffrage chiefly because he thinks it will affect favorably the proportion of intelligent to unintelligent and indifferent voters, but the only reason given for this belief is that women have more time than men for studying the details of politics. Except for the vagueness on this point, the article is a good one; the argument for the working-woman's need of the ballot is well put.

- * CASTBERG, J. *The Legal Position of Women in Norway.* Nineteenth Century, Vol. 71: 364-377.

A very interesting article giving a full account of the thoroughly impartial treatment of men and women in

Norway. The close connection between the suffrage movement and the movements for other rights of women is well brought out.

CRANE, HATTIE ELLIOTT. *Woman's Place in the Government and Conduct of Society, as Illustrated by the Splendid Achievements of California Women.* Overland Monthly, Vol. 59 (April): 359-366.

Empty talk about "the dominant faculties" of man and woman respectively and "the great law of dualism which runs through all occupations."

DEERING, MABEL CRAFT. *The Women's Demonstration: How They Won and Used the Vote in California.* Collier's, Vol. 48 (January 6): 17-18.

*** GILMAN, CHARLOTTE PERKINS. *Are Women Human Beings? A Consideration of the Major Error in the Discussion of Woman Suffrage.* Harper's Weekly, Vol. 56 (May 25): 11.

An examination of the basic assumption made more or less explicitly by all anti-suffragists—the assumption "that women have feminine functions and no others, and that social functions are masculine."

* HAMILTON, CICELY. *Man.* English Review, Vol. 11 (April): 115-125.

A clever essay, but without much substance. It purports to be a study of man "as a species, a sex or a class," but it is chiefly a criticism of man's ideas of woman. "The dislike of the average man for the woman who in any way resembles him" is said to be "founded principally, if unconsciously, upon the fear of losing caste, of ceasing to be, by virtue of his masculine birth, an aristocrat marked off from those beneath him."

- * MÜNSTERBERG, HUGO. *The German Woman*. Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 109 (April): 457-467.

Professor Münsterberg makes an interesting survey of the very rapid progress made by the German woman in the last ten or twenty years—progress in education, in professional life and in public service. He finds, however, that the most important change of all is that the position of woman in the family has become more dignified through “the development of a stronger sense of comradeship between husband and wife.” This change is, of course, the direct result of the other changes.

- PAGET, LUCY GARDNER. *The Era of Physical Force—and After?* Westminster Review, Vol. 177 (April): 427-434.

Too much sex antagonism. “Physical force has been the central driving power of man, but with woman the central driving force is motherhood,”—this very unreal distinction forms the basis of the argument.

- * PORRITT, ANNIE G. *The Argument of Broken Windows*. Independent, Vol. 71 (April 18): 835-837.

- * ROBINS, ELIZABETH. *Sermons in Stones*. Contemporary Review, Vol. 101 (April): 493-501.

Good defense of the suffragettes’ stone-throwing.

- * SPENCER, ANNA GARLAND. *The Drama of the Woman of Genius*. Forum, Vol. 47 (January): 34-54.

A review of the immense disadvantages under which women of genius have labored—disapproval, lack of education, lack of intellectual fellowship, the burden of household drudgery, etc. “In view of these tremendous obstacles it is fair to assume that when women in the past

have achieved even a second or third place in the ranks of genius they have shown far more native ability than men have needed to reach the same eminence."

THEOBALD, R. M. *The Suffragist Movement*. Westminster Review, Vol. 177 (April): 357-359.

A plea for the treatment of the militant suffragettes as prisoners of war, not as ordinary criminals. The writer thinks they should be drafted off to distant places, but allowed all liberty except that of going away—also that they should be made to pay for the repair of the damage they have done.

WHITE, E. M. *The Woman-Soul*. International Journal of Ethics, Vol. 22 (April): 321-334.

This writer looks forward to a time when woman, having developed through freedom the supposedly manly virtues, and having also retained whatever good qualities the ages of her subjection have bred in her (intuition, sympathy and patience), will become "a being higher in type than man and farther removed from the animal, physically, mentally and morally."

The Changing Ideals of the Modern German Woman. Review of Reviews, Vol. 45 (February): 231-232.

Extracts from two recent German articles.

* *On the High Cost of Loving*. Century Magazine, Vol. 83 (March): 793-794.

A good defense of the married woman who hires a trained nurse to take care of her babies while she herself helps to support the family. "A social edict that forbids mothers from caring for their children in the most thorough way they can devise is a law that the hands of nature will bend and break."

CURRENT SUFFRAGE PERIODICALS.

- * **THE COMMON CAUSE.** The Organ of the Women's Movement for Reform. Weekly, Manchester, 64 Deansgate Arcade. 1d. a copy.

A good magazine for reports of progress, discussion of tactics, extracts from important newspaper editorials, etc.

- ***** **THE ENGLISHWOMAN.** Editorial Committee: Lady Frances Balfour, J. M. Strachey, Mary Lowndes, Cicely Hamilton. Monthly. London: Sidgwick & Jackson. 1 shilling a copy.

"*The Englishwoman* is intended to reach the cultured public and bring before it, in a convincing and moderate form, the case for the Enfranchisement of Women. No support will be given to any particular party in politics."

- ** **THE ENGLISHWOMAN'S REVIEW OF SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL QUESTIONS.** Edited by Antoinette M. Mackenzie. Quarterly. London, 23 Berners Street, Oxford Street, W. 1 shilling a copy.

This is a review devoted to the more serious interests of women. Besides longer articles, each number contains a department of university news and a woman suffrage department. Its contributors include many people of importance, Mrs. Fawcett being one of the most frequent.

- *** **THE FORERUNNER.** By Charlotte Perkins Gilman (author and publisher). Monthly. New York: The Charlton Co., 67 Wall Street. 10 cents a copy.

As Mrs. Gilman says (January, 1910, p. 29), the *Forerunner* is "only a suffrage paper because of its interest in women, and only a woman's paper because of its interest in

humanity." For this very reason, however, it is vastly more effective, even merely as a suffrage organ, than most of the regular suffrage magazines. The latter are apt to leave one tired or irritated; the *Forerunner*, besides presenting matter that bears strongly upon the question, induces a state of mind very favorable to the cause—a condition of pleasurable impatience with things as they are.

- ** *The Freewoman*: A Weekly Humanist Review. Joint editors, Dora Marsden and Mary Gawthorpe. London: Stephen Swift & Co., 10 John Street, Adelphi. 3d. a copy.

A very brilliant review. Its attitude towards sex relations is ultra-radical, but it has strong and admirably written articles on the economic position of women. Both sides of the question are presented in contributed articles, but the editors hold that schemes for "home schools" and for the endowment of motherhood are really schemes for maintaining the subjection of women.

"The necessity for women engaging in money-producing work is based not merely upon women's need to live, but upon their equally important need to live upon the value and sale of their work in the open market, and not in that special incalculable market where all sales are questionable—i. e., that of sentiment and passion . . . Already schemes such as the state endowment of motherhood, the compulsory payment of wives, are discussed, schemes which are so absolute in their repudiation of the human responsibilities of women that it appears some women are prepared not only to slam the door in the face of freedom, but they would lock it and throw away the key." "They are busying themselves with plans to make freedom settle down comfortably in captivity. They would like to retain the essence of both captivity and freedom—the comforts of the one and the exhilara-

tions of the other." But "the essence of the one destroys the essence of the other . . . Women will be compelled to make a clean choice between the comforts of protection and the harsh responsibilities of freedom."

The publication of this review has been suspended (October 10, 1912), but it is hoped that it will be resumed.

JUS SUFFRAGII. Monthly organ of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance. Editor: Martha G. Kramers. 92 Kruiskade, Rotterdam.

The object of this little eight page paper is to keep suffragists all over the world informed of the progress of the cause. Copies are issued each month in several different languages. The translation into English is not good, but otherwise the paper seems well planned.

NEW YORK SUFFRAGE NEWSLETTER. Monthly. New York State Woman Suffrage Association, Syracuse, N. Y. 5 cents.

Chiefly reports from clubs, personal items about suffragists, etc.

The Progressive Woman. Weekly. Chicago: The Progressive Woman Publishing Co. 5 cents a copy.

A socialist and suffragist review of no great value.

The Vote: The Organ of the Women's Freedom League. Edited by C. Despard. Weekly. London, 2 Robert Street, W. C. 1d. a copy.

Of the same general character as *Votes for Women*, but much less interesting.

***** **VOTES FOR WOMEN.** Edited by Frederick and Emmeline Pethick Lawrence. Clement's Inn, Strand, London. W. C. Weekly. 1d. a copy.

An admirable paper, very interesting to suffragists and at the same time very effective with opponents. There are

good editorials and articles, clever satires, and interesting reviews of new books and pamphlets. The books reviewed are not only books dealing directly with woman suffrage, but also any books that have a bearing on the subject, including novels. *Votes for Women* is the chief organ of the Women's Social and Political Union, and it often contains exciting news of suffragette activities.

- * *The Western Woman Voter*. Monthly. Seattle, Washington: Western Woman Voter Publishing Co. 10 cents a copy.

Interesting as representing the interests of progressive women in a suffrage state. It takes up especially the fight against prostitution, the progress of suffrage in other states, prison reform, the peace movement, etc.

- * *The Woman Citizen*. Monthly. Sullivan, Indiana. 5 cents a copy.

Occasional good articles as well as suffrage news.

- ** *The Woman Voter*: Organ of the Woman Suffrage Party. Monthly. New York, 30 East 34th Street. 5 cents a copy.

"The Woman Suffrage Party is an organization which seeks to unite, and utilize through political channels, the entire equal suffrage force in the City of New York," in order to secure a woman suffrage amendment to the state constitution. *The Woman Voter* deals particularly, therefore, with the suffrage politics of New York City and State; but it gives also general suffrage news and comments upon it, replies to anti-suffrage articles, reviews of books, etc. In the number for June, 1912, each of four articles by Ida Tarbell in the *American Magazine* is well answered, the critics being Beatrice Forbes-Robertson Hale, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Anna Howard Shaw and Rheta Childe Dorr.

ADDENDA.

1792.

- * HIPPEL, THEODOR GOTTLIEB VON. *Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Weiber*. 226 pp. [Sämmtliche Werke, Vol. VI. Berlin: G. Reimer. 1828. (Library of Congress.)]

A thorough-going vindication of the equality of the sexes, very remarkable at a time when women were in such a state of tutelage that they could not, in Germany, even act as witnesses. The book is written in a florid and pedantic style, but it gives evidence of much keen thinking. Hippel regards all generalisations about the natures of men and women as purely arbitrary; we can know nothing about the matter until we give women an equal chance. He would have girls and boys receive exactly the same education, and would have the youth of both sexes alike specially trained for citizenship. "So lange die Weiber bloss *Privilegia* und nicht *Rechte* haben; so lange der Staat sie nur wie parasitische Pflanzen behandelt, . . . wird nicht das Weib den grossen Beruf der Natur . . . nur immer sehr unvollkommen erfüllen?"

1867.

- * STONE, LUCY. *Woman Suffrage in New Jersey*: An Address delivered by Lucy Stone at a hearing before the New Jersey Legislature, March 6, 1867. Boston: Simonds & Co. 24 pp. (Library of Congress.)

A good appeal for justice. It is related how in New Jersey "in defiance of the letter of the constitution and

of the statutes and uniform practice of a generation, women and negroes were disfranchised by an arbitrary act of the Legislature."

- ** *The Social and Political Dependence of Women.* London: Longmans, Green & Co. 92 pp. (Library of Congress.)

A good argument; almost as formal in style as a mathematical demonstration. The position taken is very advanced and uncompromising, especially in the matter of the economic independence of women. "If women were accustomed before marriage to get their own living, . . . the wives would be able, notwithstanding their other duties, to contribute their portion, if the smaller one, to the fund necessary to meet the common wants of husband, wife and children."

1892.

- *** FRANK, LOUIS. *Essai sur la condition politique de la femme: Étude de sociologie et de législation.* Paris: Arthur Rousseau. 598 pp. (Library of Congress.)

Première partie:—La Thèse de l'émancipation féminine: arguments et objections (pp. 1-231). An excellent piece of reasoning. The theories of leading anti-feminists, ancient and modern, metaphysical and scientific, are examined in a most fair and scholarly fashion, and ably refuted. The fifth chapter of this part is a study of the injustice to women under French law.

Séconde partie:—Aperçu de la législation: faits et documents (pp. 235-562). This investigation is valuable and interesting even now, though of course much progress has been made in legislation since 1892.

1897.

- ** CATT, CARRIE CHAPMAN (compiler). *The Ballot and the Bullet*. New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association. 73 pp. (Library of Congress.)

Female Warriors, by D. P. Livermore.

*** *The Right of Woman to the Ballot*, by Charles H. Chapman. A thorough and effective refutation of Rossiter Johnson's pamphlet, *The Blank-Cartridge Ballot*. "The ballot is the gift of the strong to the weak, the generous recognition by the strong that the weak have rights which he is bound by justice and honor to respect, whether he is able to ignore them by his superior strength or not." "Governments based on military force are not stable, for they are constantly at the mercy of any stronger force and they contain in themselves elements of discord that weaken the nation more than the trained warriors strengthen it . . . Such governments are neither popular, representative, nor democratic. . . Government by force can only exist by concentration of force. Concentration of force means the surrender of all authority into the smallest possible number of hands."

- ** *The Military Argument*, by Alice Stone Blackwell.

Address before the United States Senate Committee,
by Hon. John Davis.

1899.

- * McCULLOCH, CATHARINE WAUGH. *Mr. Lex, or The Legal Status of Mother and Child*. Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Co. 1899. 85 pp. (Library of Congress.)

A fable illustrating the possibilities of terrible injustice to mothers in states which make fathers sole guardians of their children. It was very largely through this book and its author that joint guardianship was secured in Illinois.

1900.

- * *Objections to Woman Suffrage Answered by College Women.*
New York: National American Woman Suffrage
Association. 1900. 16 pp. (Library of Congress.)

Short papers by Sara C. Bryant, Helen Leah Reed, Margaret Long, Mary H. Rollins, Winnifred Harper Cooley, Caroline C. Cook, and Alice Freeman Palmer. *Do Women Want to Vote?* by Winnifred Harper Cooley, is particularly good.

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F 83
APR 2 1913

The Case for Woman Suffrage

A Bibliography

BY

Margaret Ladd Franklin, A.B.

Published by the National College Equal Suffrage League
Sold by the National American Woman Suffrage
Association, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York City

1913

Single Copies in Paper, 65 cents
Postage prepaid, 75 cents

Bound in Cloth, 90 cents
Postage prepaid, \$1



